

A Grown-Up's Guide to Non-Proliferation

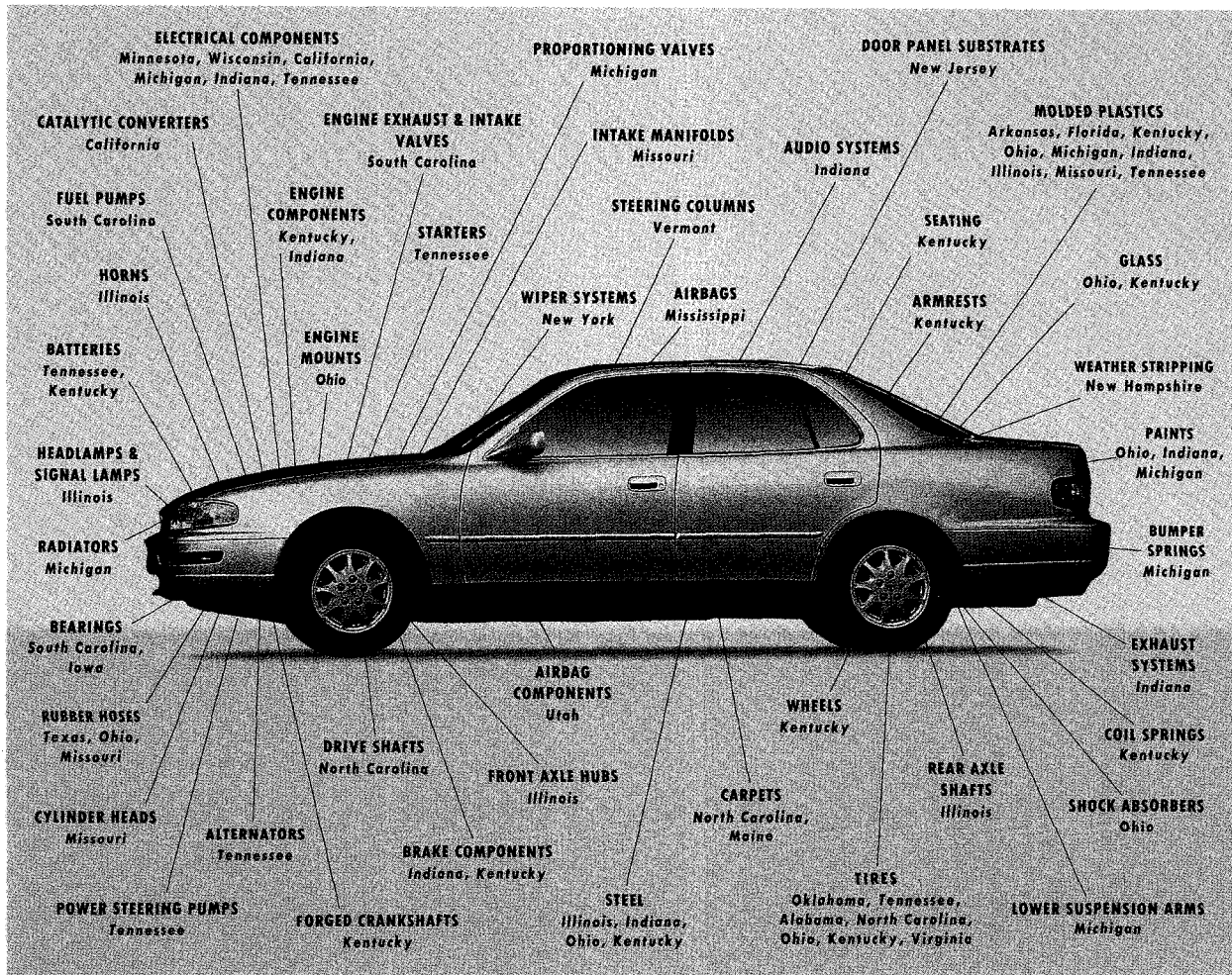
NATIONAL REVIEW

YOU GOTTA ACCENTUATE THE NEGATIVE

**The Continuing Enforcement
Of Positive Discrimination**

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JULY 5, 1993 / NATIONAL REVIEW 1

The Virtue of Libertarians

John Gray used his review of Jerry Muller's recent volume on Adam Smith to take a number of unjustified potshots at libertarians ["Free at Last," May 24]. The thrust of his criticism is that Adam Smith recognized "the embeddedness of market institutions in strong cultural traditions," whereas libertarians, we are told, believe "that the market needs no moral foundations beyond those it has in individual freedom."

Nothing could be further from the truth. I know of no libertarian who would seriously contend, to use Mr. Gray's example, that markets can function effectively if most participants in them lack the elementary virtues of honesty and trustworthiness. Nor would libertarians contest the assertion that "the social order in which market institutions flourish is one in which market participants have been moralized by the institution of the family and the authority of religion." Libertarians merely insist that reliance upon the government for assistance in the values-transmission process is doomed to failure.

A moment's reflection reveals the rationale underlying this observation. As Adam Smith the Christian would have agreed, humans suffer from a fallen spiritual nature. Those in charge of the social institutions designed to transmit a moral heritage inevitably thus suffer, to a greater or lesser degree, from a perverse but perfectly natural tendency to undermine that heritage.

Yet the voluntary nature of non-governmental social institutions places a corrective mechanism in the hands of the people. When an institution ceases to transmit values faithfully, people have the option of taking their membership and patronage elsewhere. If the Episcopal Church decides to ordain homosexuals, dissenting Episcopalians can join other denominations or start their own. This check does not exist, however, when a government agency charged with transmitting cultural values chooses to undermine them instead. Examples such as the National Endowment for the Arts spring readily to mind.

Libertarians recognize that the darkness of humanity's collective heart will

often overcome the light. Libertarians also recognize that government officials share in that darkness. Limited government, therefore, at least gives truth and virtue a realistic opportunity to prevail.

D. Stephen Wallin
Tucson, Ariz.

Fans of Bill

You unfairly suggested that President Clinton is as uniformly unpopular abroad as he is at home ["The Week," June 7]. Actually, the not-so-ex-Communist leaders of some of Eastern Europe's countries think Mr. Clinton is great. For example, before his recent trip to the United States, Slovakia's Prime Minister, Vladimir Meciar, said he had read parts of Mr. Clinton's book, *Putting People First*, and found that it resembled his own government's program.

Mr. Meciar is big on state involvement in transforming economies. But his taste in Presidents is a little suspicious. After all, this is the guy who helped break up the old Czechoslovakia by refusing to support the re-election of Vaclav Havel. Still, maybe it's a little consolation to our beleaguered President that some people like him more than they like the world's most famous dissident.

Chandler Rosenberger
Bratislava, Slovakia

Dr. Star Wars?

Among its other failings, Angelo Codevilla's recent article ["Who Killed SDI?" May 10] completely misrepresents the views on SDI of Dr. George Keyworth II, who served from 1981 to 1986 as science advisor to President Reagan, as well as Dr. Keyworth's crucial role in President Reagan's decision to undertake the SDI research program.

Mr. Codevilla claims that Dr. Keyworth was hostile to the idea of ballistic-missile defense and that he contributed to the Reagan Administration's failure to "build some anti-missile equipment." In fact, prior to President Reagan's landmark address in March 1983, Dr. Keyworth was asked to advise the President as to whether missile defense was technologically feasible, and he concluded that advances in technology had indeed

made such defenses possible. He recommended to the President that the SDI program be launched. Following the President's speech, Dr. Keyworth became the Administration's principal spokesman for an advanced, aggressive SDI program, even gaining the appellation "Dr. Star Wars" from some critics of the plan. During this period, as later, Dr. Keyworth argued for a fast-track research-and-development program that would be able to demonstrate as quickly as possible the capabilities necessary to deal with the potential threat of large-scale Soviet missile strikes against the United States.

In announcing the Clinton Administration's refocusing of the SDI program, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin admitted that SDI played a significant role in reducing the threat of offensive nuclear-weapons systems through arms control (the START I and START II treaties) and even to the ultimate collapse of the Soviet Union. Clearly, the Soviets knew America's technological advantage, as symbolized by SDI, made the prospect of long-term military competition unaffordable and unacceptable.

Dr. Keyworth played an important role in the conception, announcement, and continuation of this historic program, and Mr. Codevilla does him a disservice to suggest otherwise.

Neil Pickett
Director, Program Management
Hudson Institute
Indianapolis, Ind.

Nonsense. Both before and after March 23, 1983, Jay Keyworth argued in every forum available to him against actually building anti-missile defenses. To Keyworth and, as it turned out, to the U.S. Government as a whole, SDI was intended to feed basic research contracts to well-connected scientists, and to be a bargaining chip in arms control. It was emphatically not to build any working devices. Since the lack of even one solitary anti-missile device after ten years and \$30 billion has not convinced Neil Pickett that SDI and anti-missile defense were mutually exclusive, it is unsurprising that he failed to grasp lesser subtleties.

Mr. Pickett believes that the START I and II treaties were blessings for the United States. I would enjoy hearing him try to explain to Herman Kahn, the late lamented founder of his institute, why treaties that increase the ratio between counterforce warheads and their American targets from 3 to 1 to about 8 to 1 are anything but a disaster. God willing, the Soviet Union's demise may render all that moot.

—AC

Japan and America: Where the Twain Meet

"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," Kipling wrote long ago, and even today that saying sums up the feelings of many Americans and Japanese toward each other. But William Brinker, a high school social studies teacher from Farmington Hills, Michigan, disagrees. "The gulf between our cultures exists, but it can be bridged. We just have to work harder at understanding one another."

Brinker was a participant in the annual U.S./Japan Teachers Exchange Program sponsored by Hitachi. Now in its seventh year, this exchange helps promote mutual understanding, cultural awareness, and friendship between our societies on a personal level.

Since 1987, the program has sponsored the visits of 28 American teachers to Japan and 13 Japanese to the United States. This year is the largest exchange so far: four American and four Japanese teachers. For three weeks, they will tour the sites, teach children, and live in the homes of their

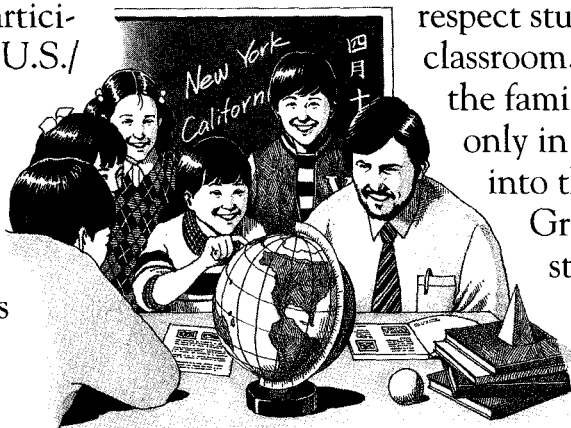
hosts. For most, it is their first direct exposure to the culture they so often teach about. Even for Brinker, who had spent time in Japan 36 years ago as a serviceman, the experience was eye-opening. "I came away with a much better understanding of the Japanese people," he says.

As teachers, the American visitors are struck by the way Japanese parents support the school system and the respect students show in the classroom. "The support and love of the family seems to carry out not only in the school system but also into their companies," says Greg Alvarado, a social studies teacher from Daly City, California.

For Delia Grogan-Selby, a department chairperson from Bronxville, New

York, the home stay was a highlight of her visit. "I felt like I had parachuted into my own family, but it was Japan," she says.

Hitachi is proud to sponsor the U.S./Japan Teachers Exchange Program. We believe its positive impact will multiply as returning teachers share their personal experiences with students, colleagues, and friends at home.



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In addition to the participants indicated above other prominent video guests include: Prof E. Calvin Beisner, Covenant College; Dr. John Cooper, President of James Madison Institute; Dr. Norman Geisler, Dean Southern Evangelical Seminary; Sr. Lourdes Sheehan, Secretary for Education, U.S. Catholic Conference and Prof Emeritus William Snively, George Mason University. Prof Robert Mateer, Liberty University and CEBA President is series moderator.

(Some of the material is edited & updated from the earlier PERSPECTIVES series.)

The socialistic monopolies of Eastern Europe and communism in Russia have failed - they did not deliver a reasonable standard of living to the people. In the United States we are too quickly sliding toward big government solutions to our problems and our monopolistic public schools are, all too often, delivering a fraudulent education to our youth. A nation is built upon the beliefs and the character of its citizens. As the rest of the world seeks to emulate our freedoms we are too complacent as the values of our Western Civilization, our cherished Judeo-Christian heritage, are slowly slipping away!

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FROM THE EDITOR

The Re-Making of the President

■ Is President Clinton in free fall? Can he turn things around? Such are the questions now agitating minds inside the Beltway. And since such minds generally assume that whatever is happening at the moment will go on happening indefinitely, the prognosis for the President is gloomy.

I on the other hand was a contrarian when people thought that was a sign of the Zodiac. So I lean naturally to the view that a President with three and a half years to go before an election is in clover. He is better able than the Opposition to command events. As the election approaches, the visceral liberalism of the media will reassert itself on his behalf. And the economy will certainly get better, even if it subsequently gets worse.

And yet, and yet . . . To begin with, the impression is getting around that the economy is recovering precisely because Mr. Clinton cannot get his economic program through. If gridlock and the economy continue to rise in lockstep, the voters may conclude that the best way to preserve prosperity is to put Mr. Clinton where he cannot even *propose* new taxes.

Of course, Mr. Clinton might survive that if he were popular on other grounds. But he is imprinting on the public mind an image of himself that is electoral poison: namely, that of a liberal who lacks the courage of his convictions.

Gays in the military, abortion on demand (and apparently without parental knowledge), and racial and sexual quotas are the social policies with which he identified himself early on. Only when surprised by hostile popular reactions did he retreat.

As the Lani Guinier case illustrates, however, that did not make him look centrist. It merely suggested panic. And statements to the press along the lines of "I'm decisive really" only reinforce that impression.

It is further strengthened by the way in which commentators, presidential aides, and political consultants

now discuss politics in public. Instead of sounding like philosophers or statesmen seeking the national interest, they come off as advertising copywriters trying to unload a dud product on the market.

Articles and debates on how best to "position" the President to give him a moderate centrist image remind me of a remark that a Tory candidate made to me once, unaware that his words were being broadcast over a loudspeaker: "The time has come to plug the spiritual values angle."

At least he had the good sense to be embarrassed. Today, party spokesmen say that sort of thing on television all the time, without apparently realizing that if your aim is to deceive people, it is probably not a good idea to give them a preview of your tactics.

In which case the Clinton-Gergen move to the middle may produce not popularity for the President, but a more corrosive cynicism among the voters.

■ Mr. Clinton's angry walkout from the Rose Garden press conference on Judge Ruth Ginsburg in response to a question from ABC's Brit Hume was yet another insight into the President.

He was too indignant to state his argument clearly, but he seemed to be complaining that Mr. Hume was not rising to the occasion. He was treating the nomination of a Supreme Court Justice as a political event, when the President clearly felt it should be celebrated as a giant leap for womankind.

Since there is already a woman Justice on the Court, this milestone lies behind us. But Mr. Clinton may have hit upon a useful tactic here: repeating historic advances.

So listen for Mr. Clinton to use phrases like "New Deal" or "New Frontier" on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and "Back to Normalcy" on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays as his aides frantically position him in response to the latest polls.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

■ Conventional wisdom had it that Republican **Richard Riordan** needed a low turnout to defeat Democrat **Michael Woo** in June 8 Los Angeles mayoral election. However, 44 per cent of registered voters came to the polls—a turnout higher than any of those that elected Mayor **Tom Bradley**. Riordan defeated Woo 54 to 46 per cent. . . . In her resounding defeat of incumbent Democratic Sen. **Bob Krueger** (68 to 32 per cent), **Kay Bailey Hutchison** won 19 out of the 34 “yellow dog Democrat” counties in Texas—where people would vote for a yellow dog before a Republican. . . . Also in Lone Star state, **George W. Bush** plans to seek GOP nomination for governor. Likely Democratic opponent is incumbent, **Ann Richards**, although she’s being urged to run against Sen. Hutchison in 1994. . . . Another son of President **Bush** with eyes on a statehouse: **Jeb Bush** plans challenge of Florida’s Democratic Gov. **Lawton Chiles** in 1994. . . . Conservatives won the day at Virginia GOP convention. The party chose former U.S. Rep. **George Allen** as its gubernatorial nominee to face liberal Democrat **Mary Sue Terry** in November. And Christian Right home-schooler **Mike Farris** gained Lieut. Gov. nomination. . . . **Christine Todd Whitman**, moderate GOP nominee for governor in New Jersey, leads beleaguered incumbent, **Jim Florio**, 49 to 37 in the early polls after her primary victory. Florio strategist **James Carville** plans a class-warfare attack, highlighting Mrs. Whitman’s financial well-being. . . . Sen. **Al D’Amato** (R., N.Y.) is being urged by Republican gubernatorial hopeful **Pat Barrett** to declare candidacy or stay out so rest of field can get going. Barrett reminded D’Amato of the senator’s promise during 1992 re-election campaign not to run for another office if victorious.

■ A Democratic National Committee fund-raising survey asks potential donors to rate a list of eight issues in

terms of importance. The list includes health-care reform, combatting AIDS, and campaign-finance reform; no mention of **Bill Clinton**’s oft-cited goal of cutting the deficit. . . . *Time/CNN* poll finds that 52 per cent oppose new taxes in order to reduce the deficit. *New York Times/CBS* poll finds 54 per cent (to 42) saying that it’s not necessary to tax *them* to reduce deficit. . . . **General Mills** is closing 27 **Red Lobster** restaurants to offset higher costs expected when new federal tax and health-care policies kick in. . . . House Speaker **Tom Foley** backed off his threats to remove from subcommittee chairmanships those who voted against budget. Talk of such a move caused Rep. **Charles Rangel** to lash out: “It is embarrassing we were going to censure those that walked away from the President, and now [he has] walked away from us.” . . . Sen. **Malcolm Wallop** is hoping Black Caucus’s dissatisfaction with Bill Clinton can attract Caucus into conservative fold on capital-gains-tax reduction. Rep. **Gary Franks** flirted with idea of leaving Caucus, but has decided to remain as sole Republican, even though he is continually voted out of the room. . . . In final column before being



“How is it going to look when I’m being charged with sexually harassing a lesbian?”

tapped to save the White House, **David Gergen** called Bill Clinton “one of the most gifted, dedicated men ever to serve in the Oval Office.”

■ *Roll Call* found that **Wendell Ford** (D., Ky.) is the only senator who admits to being cigarette smoker; only 17 representatives admit as much. . . . The political-campaign course **Frank Luntz** has been teaching since 1989 has been defunded by the University of Pennsylvania after Luntz-sponsored survey of Ivy League students ranked UPenn last in every academic category. . . . **Mario Cuomo** moving right? He has noted decaying moral values, not racism, as cause for inner-city crime. Now this comment on strong showing by Christians in city school-board elections: “the Catholic Church, the unorganized Jewish synagogues . . . , the unorganized ecclesiastics of the Hispanic [community],” the great equivocator told the *New York Observer*, “have a perfect right to step forward and say: ‘We think this is right, we think that’s wrong, and we call upon our people to vote that way.’” **Pat Robertson**, Cuomo added, is “not a bad guy.”

■ **Madeleine Albright**, the U.S.’s novice diplomat at the UN, says she is going to push President Clinton to support Germany and Japan becoming permanent members of Security Council despite objections of Britain and France. Meanwhile, UN missions curdle in Bosnia, Cambodia, Somalia, and Angola. . . . Singapore’s elder statesman **Lee Kuan Yew** says Asians must open their markets to U.S.: “It is our *quid pro quo* for the stabilizing role that we hope the United States will continue to provide over the next twenty years or so.” . . . U.S. Trade Rep. **Mickey Kantor** has moved from a hard to a soft line on Japan. Preparing for G-7 summit in Tokyo, “a senior U.S. official” said, “there will be no retaliatory trigger in the U.S. proposal.” . . . Former East German dictator **Erich Honecker**, who escaped trial in Germany because of a supposed terminal illness, lives on in luxurious villa in Santiago de Chile.

■ UCLA professor **Robert Dallek**, on a hunger strike by students demanding creation of a Chicano-studies department: “The Irish in Boston . . . did not seek consolation in Irish studies.”

A view from Washington



TAKE A SHOWER, PAY A TAX

Does America really understand the portentous nature of President Clinton's tax plan for energy? From the time we get up in the morning to the minute we crawl under the covers at night, Americans will be paying more. Alarm clocks will cost more, hot water will cost more and the breakfast we eat will cost more because it takes energy to make them or get them to you. The paper you read will cost more to produce because it takes energy to convert wood to paper, to haul the paper to the printer and to deliver it to your doorstep.

Everyone knows it will cost more to get to work but it doesn't stop there. Your car will cost more because there are several hundred pounds of energy-intensive materials like aluminum, glass, rubber and plastic in the vehicle for trim, windows, panels and parts. It also takes a lot of energy to get the assembly line and production equipment running. The road you drive on will cost more because it is made of materials like concrete that take energy to produce and transport. And then there is steel for frames, bridges, reinforcement and guard rails.

Steel will really be impacted because it takes tremendous amounts of energy to make, shape and move. The problem is it might be cheaper to import it. In fact, that might be true of many manufactured products, which brings us to the point of this discussion.

America has maintained its competitiveness in world markets because of reasonably priced energy. Manufacturing has survived because of low production and transportation costs. Both are components of energy. Take that advantage away and you take away jobs, many jobs, in a lot of different sectors of our economy including steel, airlines, manufacturing, trucking, computing, paper, agriculture, automotive, chemicals and on and on. Conservative estimates place the number of jobs lost at more than 400,000.

If we truly need to sacrifice as President Clinton suggests, let's seriously engage in a discussion about reduced government spending. Let's sacrifice by giving up some taxpayer financed programs. That will keep America on a level playing field with the rest of the world and keep us competitive. Energy has played an enormous role in helping maintain our standard of living. Should we really single it out for taxation? Probably not.

And remember, when you crawl into bed at night it will cost more. Your electric blanket will cost more to make and so will your pillow. The bed is made of wood that took energy to process and uses a petroleum-based acrylic finish. It will cost more. The carpet in your bedroom is a synthetic which costs more, and so on and so on.

Quite literally, take a shower and pay a tax. Think about it.

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THE WEEK

■ Mr. Clinton's performance last week was merely mediocre. But can he keep it up?

■ Lani Guinier's defenestration will soon be forgotten. But the reason the President gave for abandoning his nominee for assistant attorney general will reverberate for many years. The Senate debate, he said, "would be carried on a ground that I could not defend." That ground: Miss Guinier's explicit advocacy of quotas. Thus an extraordinary political reality has now emerged: liberals have decisively failed to defend quotas overtly, although wholly committed to them covertly. As Professor Lino Graglia puts it acidly in his masterly cover story (page 26), "'Affirmative action' [a/k/a quotas] is a fungus that can survive only underground in the dark." This means that conservatives have been presented, providentially, with a devastating weapon. The word "quotas" has the same magic properties as the word "racism"—use it and everyone runs away. It must therefore be used as often as possible, particularly since, unlike the typical liberal accusation of "racism," it is accurate. Liberals will scream. But they will also flee. All that is required is nerve. Of course, if elected officials had nerve, the U.S. wouldn't be in the quota quagmire in the first place.

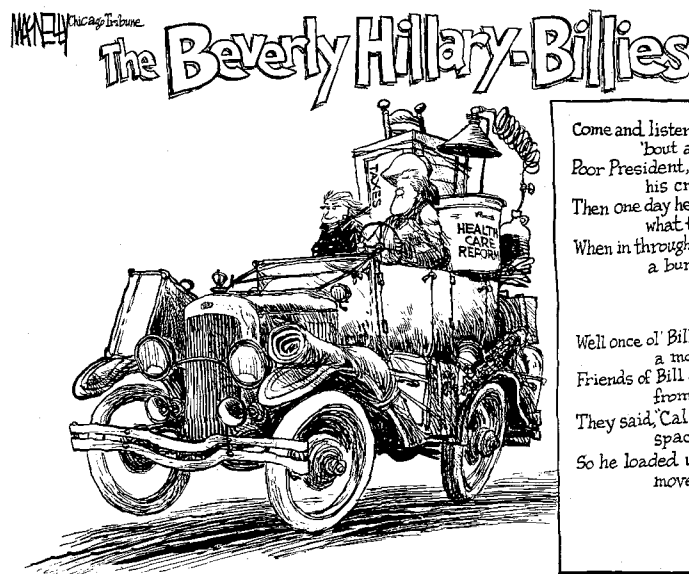
■ New bugs keep crawling out from under the log of the White House Travel Office. Here is the chronology, as recently revealed. May 10: Harry Thomason, Arkansas-born Hollywood producer, sends the White House a memo complaining that his travel company can't bid on White House business because too much of it is going to UltraAir, a Tennessee firm. May 13: William Kennedy, associate White House counsel and a law-school chum of Hillary Clinton's, calls the FBI and says that unless it investigates the Travel Office "immediately," the White House will bring in the IRS. May 19: Seven Travel Office workers are fired, and replaced with a team headed by Catherine Cornelius, former campaign worker and distant cousin of Mr. Clinton's. May

21: Three IRS agents appear at UltraAir's office to begin an unannounced civil audit. Bob Dole calls for a Senate investigation, saying "the most terrifying letters in the English language are FBI and IRS." And FOB.

■ **PROMISE LIMBO:** With regard to the 143 HIV-infected Haitians quartered at Guantánamo Bay, candidate Bill Clinton promised to admit them to the United States. Once in office he declared that he would renew the Bush policy of keeping the Haitians out, thus promising to break his first promise. Now, under pressure from a court order combined with persistent heckling from AIDS activists, he has said he'll let the Haitians in after all, thus promising to break the earlier promise to break the promise he made during the campaign. But spokesman Dee Dee Myers suggests the possibility of an appeal. Given the obvious health risks and budgetary costs, we urge the President to set aside any lingering concerns about his reputation for integrity, and break his promise to break the promise to break . . .

■ What's the difference between Bill Clinton and David Koresh? Some people still believe in Koresh.

■ The Supreme Court has ruled that enhanced sentences for "hate crimes" are constitutional. This does not mean, however, that such laws represent wise public policy. By providing increased punishment for crimes such as assault or property destruction where racial or ethnic animus has played a part, these laws distract juries from the core offenses of assault or property destruction and instead focus them upon far more ambiguous questions of intent and purpose and motivation. "Hate crime" laws are also susceptible to political abuse by prosecutors who may tend to view all cross-racial crimes as raising "hate crime"

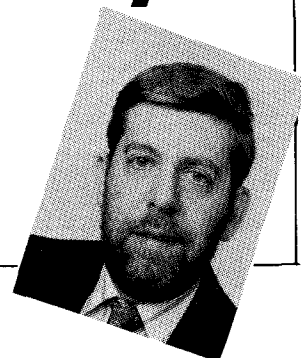


Come and listen to my story
'bout a man named Bill,
Poor President, barely kept
his critics still.
Then one day he was lookin'
what to do,
When in through the door come
a bumblin' crew...
Staff, that is...
AMATEURS...
KIDS, REALLY...
Well once ol' Bill used to be
a moderate.
Friends of Bill said, "Move away
from that."
They said, "California is the
space you wanna be."
So he loaded up the truck and
moved to Beverly...
Hills, that is...
MOVIE STARS...
SLICK HAIRCUTS...

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Just how incompetent a teacher can be and still keep the job was illustrated by an extreme case in South Carolina, where a school tried to get rid of a teacher who had been warned repeatedly about her poor teaching and poor English. At a hearing where she was given a ten-word vocabulary test, she could neither pronounce nor define the word "agrarian." She could pronounce the word "suffrage" but defined it as "people suffering from some reason or other." The word "ratify" she defined as "to get rid of something." In her own defense, she said: "I'm not saying I was the best, but I don't think I did more harm than anyone else." A judge ordered her reinstated.

Walter Williams, himself a distinguished professor of economics, sums up Dr. Sowell's achievement in the *Washington Times*:

"We all know about the poor and deteriorating state of education in America, but we don't know all the reasons why. *Inside American Education* gives us the fullest list of particulars that I have seen... names, dates and places on how the education establishment from kindergarten to college is destroying our children's prospects for the future, all the while taking taxpayers, parents and private foundations to the cleaners."

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• the media • feminism

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questions. Our state and local governments ought to concentrate on protecting *all* citizens from street crime, and let our justice system treat victims in an equal-opportunity manner.

■ In 1948 the typical family—mom, dad, and two children—paid federal taxes equal to 2 per cent of its income. Today the equivalent family pays 24 per cent of its income to Washington, and another 8 to 10 per cent in state and local taxes. The Family and Economic Recovery Act of 1993, introduced by Congressman Frank Wolf (R., Va.), is a modest effort to reverse this anti-family trend in the tax code. It would provide a \$600-per-child tax credit for families with children under age 18. This is not a handout: only working, taxpaying families need apply. A similar bill garnered the support of 262 members of the last Congress. The Progressive Policy Institute—a Clintonite think tank—has endorsed the idea. So far, though, the President has shown no interest in making such traditional families more independent. Wrong families? Or wrong value?

■ Mr. Gergen says that now that he is working in the White House, he is going to stop frightening Bambi by running around naked in Bohemian Grove, and if that doesn't halt the slide in the President's popularity, what will?

■ In Virginia, Mike Farris won the nomination for lieutenant governor by a 3 to 2 margin at the GOP's huge June 5 convention (the largest U.S. political convention ever). The political novice and home-schooling advocate baffles political insiders and the media for two reasons: 1) He's unapologetically conservative, opposing abortion, calling for a strictly limited government, and defending traditional religion. 2) He made an end-run around the political and media elite, drawing into the GOP scores of people who had been politically inactive. As a result, Mr. Farris flattened his opponent, former Bush appointee Bobbie Kilberg. The media's explanation? "The Christian Right is on the political move again

..." warned the *New York Times*. Apparently the media, which spent most of the time hunkered down in the press room, didn't notice that Mr. Farris delivered the convention's most savvy speech. Or that winning 62 per cent of the delegates means support beyond the "Christian Right." Mr. Farris has a tough fight ahead against the popular (and vacuous) incumbent, Democrat Donald Beyer. But he has energized the Virginia GOP by cobbling together what used to be called the Reagan Coalition. If Republicans are smart, they'll embrace it.

■ In the wake of the Chinese illegal immigrants struggling ashore on a New York beach, Democrats John Breaux and the very liberal Charles Schumer have both called for tightening up the immigration law. With so many conservatives lulled into complacency by the siren song of Julian Simon and the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page, it remains possible that this powerful electoral issue may be appropriated by the Left, just as *Los Angeles Times* writer Jack Miles predicted in his prescient *Atlantic* cover story on immigration last year.

■ Walter Mondale has been named ambassador to Japan. After 51 years, isn't it time we stopped trying to avenge Pearl Harbor?

■ Republicans in Congress have taken a constructive initiative to lift the U.S. arms embargo against beleaguered Bosnia. A bill introduced in the House on May 27 by Henry Hyde (HR-2315) and in the Senate the same day by Bob Dole and others (S-1044) would do two things: unilaterally end U.S. participation in the UN arms embargo, and authorize up to \$200 million in U.S. military assistance to the Bosnians. Mr. Hyde offered the bill again on June 8 as an amendment to the Foreign Assistance bill before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The Administration and Chairman Lee Hamilton fought it but, remarkably enough, it passed the Committee anyway. It is expected to sail through the House and be well received in the Senate, where Democrat Joseph Lieberman joined Mr. Dole as a co-sponsor. The bill's significance is political as much as legal—putting spine into the President and encouraging him to take action unilaterally if he proves unable to obtain Security Council agreement. But the findings in the bill also make a powerful case for renouncing the UN embargo as contrary to international law. Since the original Security Council embargo against Yugoslavia in September 1991, circumstances have changed dramatically. Bosnia has become an independent state and a victim of aggression, with an inherent right of individual and collective self-defense as recognized in Article 51 of the UN Charter. The Hyde Amendment would open the door to helping them exercise that right.

Mr. Clinton's Center

As Lani leaves, one wonders
Exactly where it's at;
The voters thought they saw it
The day he tossed his hat,
But then it started shifting,
Until nobody knows
If it's above his liver
Or down around his toes.

W. H. VON DREELE

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- HOW they'll repeal the Hatch Act so IRS agents, EPA fanatics and other federal employees can put political pressure on you.
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- HOW they'll expand the judiciary and load the courts with political favorites of Hillary Clinton and other radical feminists.

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NRCS2

■ Saying it is “absolutely not a vanity thing,” HUD Secretary Cisneros had all photos of himself removed from HUD buildings from coast to coast. It was probably coincidence that the photos “looked like I had just woken up five minutes earlier and had a 5 o’clock shadow,” as he unvainly put it.

■ Can religious people be social workers? The Social Work Department at Minnesota’s St. Cloud State University has its doubts. Its two-page statement on gays and lesbians, addressed to prospective candidates for its social-work program, advises students against entering the program if they have “negative attitudes” toward homosexuality, especially if they are from “strong religious backgrounds.” It goes on: “It is simply not acceptable for social workers to view homosexual people as perverse or sinners. . . . It is not OK in this case to ‘love the sinner and hate the sin.’ . . . The only legitimate position of the social work profession is to abhor the oppression that is perpetrated on gay and lesbian people and to end the degradation in its many forms.” One student got a C- for her journal, in which she had said she was uncomfortable with the course’s repeated discussion of homosexual lifestyles. The only reason the instructor gave for the low grade was that the student’s “thoughts and feelings . . . pose some conflicts with basic social-work values.” Some students charge that the department is practicing religious discrimination. Sounds like they have a case. In fact, the department seems to have established its own religion: one of the authors of the statement, Associate Professor Rick Present, defends his handiwork on the grounds that “this is not a value-free profession.” Fine. Let it have its religious tests for members—and let it be privately funded.

■ **CAMPUS WATCH:** A depressingly familiar academic tragicomedy has been playing at UCLA, where noisy protestors demanded that the existing Chicano Studies program be elevated to full Department status complete with Chicano professors, Chicano staff, and presumably Chicano majors. Some protestors even

went on a hunger strike. The university demurred and temporarily resolved the situation by strengthening the Chicano Studies program. What’s happening, though, is this: The university, nationally, is moving from a knowledge-based enterprise (after all, Chicano matters could be studied in History, Literature, etc.) to a politics-based enterprise in which assorted groups stake out politically controlled fiefdoms. Truth and merit will be—now are—the victims of the Victims.

■ In Denver, Clyde Stephens, owner of a bed-and-breakfast catering to homosexual travelers, has come out against the infamous tourist boycott. His former clients, he laments, “were going to Utah—as though *that’s* politically correct.”

■ **BUREAUCRATIC BAFFLEGAB** (a new feature announced in our May 24 issue [From the Editor], chronicling the verbal gyrations of our civil servants): Our selection this week comes from that bureaucrat of bureaucrats, William Jefferson Clinton, the 42nd President of the United States. In an attempt to help the family business of role model Jimmy Carter, he writes: “Whereas, pursuant to the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended, and pursuant to subheading 9904.20.20 of the Harmonized Tariff Schedule, which provides that whenever, in any 12 month period beginning August 1 in any year, an aggregate quantity of 775,189 kilograms (shelled basis) of peanuts, ground nuts, shelled or not shelled, blanched or otherwise prepared or preserved (except peanut butter) provided for in HTS subheadings 1202.10, 1202.20, and 2008.11, has been entered, no such products may be entered during the remainder of such period, peanuts in the shell are charged against the quota on the basis of 75 kilograms for each 100 kilograms of peanuts in the shell. . . . The circumstances requiring the exemption of peanut butter and peanut paste provided for under subheading 9904.20.20 no longer exists. Accordingly, I hereby terminate the said exemption.” Quotas and bureaucracy, two things at which President Clinton is eminently competent.

The GOP’s Week

Republicans, who run L.A.
And blew the Democrats away
In longhorn country, act gung-ho
When talking turns to Florio,
While in the Senate, where they stand
Like Stonewall Jackson’s little band,
The BTU tax rests in peace,
As dead as trussed-up Christmas geese.

W. H. VON DREELE

■ The “Forgotten War” is finally going to be remembered. The International Korean Veterans Memorial (IKVM) will be the first major international memorial honoring veterans from each of the 22 nations that formed the United Nations Command during the Korean War. Conceived by the Chosin Few, survivors of the battle at Korea’s Chosin Reservoir, the memorial committee is headed by Colonel Joseph N. Smith USMC (Ret.), who will serve as master for the ground-breaking ceremony, scheduled for Sunday, November 15, in Angels Gate Park, San Pedro, California. Colonel Smith notes that “the memorial honors the sacrifices of all the warriors and the bonds of

brotherhood formed by troops in combat." For further information, contact The International Korean Veterans Memorial Fund, 800-367-4586.

■ We don't want to call Al Gore an environmentalist nut, but he's probably the only guy who will watch *Jurassic Park* with mixed feelings.

Senator Hatch's Opportunity

DESPITE early media comment to the contrary, Ruth Bader Ginsburg is no more "moderate" than Robert Bork, no more a "mediator" than Clarence Thomas, and no more of a "distinguished scholar" than Douglas Ginsburg. None of whom, of course, was met with quite the same acclaim as Mrs. Ginsburg upon being nominated to the Supreme Court.

Judge Ginsburg is an honorable and intelligent woman who, by all contemporary standards, is well equipped for the bench. Unlike some others on the White House short-list, she has shown herself sensitive to the distinctions between the advocate and the jurist. But she is "moderate" only in comparison with the activist feminist lawyer on the lines of Catharine MacKinnon or Hillary Clinton.

Ruth Ginsburg is a life long patron of the American Civil Liberties Union and feminist legal causes. With an occasional deviation, she supports expanded federal civil-rights laws, affirmative action, broad federal regulations, constitutional "rights of privacy," and governmental centralization. Her record on criminal-justice issues is mixed. Only because it is so much easier for liberals than for conservatives to recast their reputations through the most modest concessions has Judge Ginsburg's purely tactical questioning of *Roe v. Wade* transformed her in the media's mind to Mrs. Learned Hand.

It is unlikely that Judge Ginsburg by herself will end the stalemate on the Supreme Court. But with the addition of one or two colleagues, she would certainly contribute to a liberal restoration. President Clinton inadvertently predicted what that would mean when he remarked that a Supreme Court Justice should be capable of "translating the hopes of the American people . . . into an enduring body of constitutional law." While admittedly a more mundane responsibility, the role of judges is to say what the law means, not to divine our innermost hopes.

Republican members of the Senate Judiciary Committee should devote considerable attention to this nomination, not with the expectation of defeating it, but with the purpose of laying a foundation for the debate over the next three hundred or so judicial nominations to be made by this President. To inform the public about how Mr. Clinton proposes to re-

shape one of the coequal branches of government is not only useful civics; it is also good politics. Whatever his personal regard for Judge Ginsburg, Senator Hatch should use the hearings as an opportunity to address the great constitutional issue of our time (of any time): the boundaries of self-government. Mrs. Ginsburg is not, after all, receiving a feminist prize; she is assuming the role that Shelley reserved for poets: that of unacknowledged legislator of the world.

Twice More, with Feeling

THE VICTORIES of Republicans Kay Bailey Hutchison in the Texas senatorial election and Richard Riordan in the Los Angeles mayoral election do not reflect the temporary unpopularity of Bill Clinton, as some commentators are saying. They reflect—much more ominously, from Mr. Clinton's point of view—the enduring appeal of conservative issues. Mrs. Hutchison ran a classic anti-tax, anti-spending campaign. (See "The Lessons of Texas," by Grover Norquist, page 42.) Her Democratic opponent was forced to make similar noises, but he still lost by more than 2 to 1.

Mr. Riordan sold a message of law and order to a city still traumatized by last year's riots. He carried the non-Hispanic white vote by a Hutchison-sized margin, and did better than expected among traditionally Democratic groups, winning 49 per cent of the Jewish vote, 43 per cent of the Hispanic vote, and even 31 per cent of the Asian vote when his opponent was a Chinese-American. Mr. Woo, a devoutly unobservant liberal, contributed to his own defeat; but he lost mainly because President Clinton had betrayed his pledge to cut middle-class taxes, and, on the matter of crime, had come up with nothing more riveting than talk about a police academy.

The power of old ideas must be kept in mind by Christine Todd Whitman, winner of the New Jersey GOP gubernatorial primary, who faces a tough battle against incumbent Jim Florio. Three years ago Governor Florio, who had imposed record-breaking income- and sales-tax hikes, was a political wreck. The New Jersey legislature flipped to the GOP, and Senator Bill Bradley nearly sank in the backwash. But the new state legislators failed to cut taxes or spending aggressively (see Brian Robertson, "A Model for Clinton?" *NR*, May 24), and anger at the Democrats became anger at "incumbents." Mrs. Whitman, a moderate Republican by instinct, won the primary on a conservative campaign that was heavy on limited government and low taxes but lighter on social issues. Mr. Florio will counter this appeal with a class-war pitch honed by the Master, James Carville.

Given the cynical mood of the voters, Mrs. Whitman will prevail only if she gives pledges on taxation and spending so explicit that they leave no room for a late escape. If she shows "responsibility" and moves to the center, however, she will be seen as merely a future incumbent, and Mr. Florio, now trailing, will recover and probably win. The lesson will be that when the choice is between two look-alike incumbents, the Democrat wins. But look for all the commentators who have missed the lesson of this month's contests to miss again, and hail a famous Democratic victory.

In the Woods in Vienna

A UNITED NATIONS World Conference on Human Rights has opened in Vienna, bringing together 183 nations and 5,000 delegates. The problem, as usual with UN gatherings, is that the petty thugdoms of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America intend to use the forum to rewrite the international standards of human rights to conform to their benighted practices.

A preliminary draft proposed by forty Asian countries would allow a large loophole for "regional peculiarities and various historical, cultural, and religious backgrounds." In other words, if torture is a long-standing local practice, it should be recognized as culturally consistent with human rights! The statement also rejected the idea that Western economic aid should ever be conditioned on human-rights performance. (The African countries declared that their own "right" to receive economic aid is absolute.) The draft condemns terrorism, but endorses the "legitimate struggle for peoples under colonial or alien domination or foreign occupation." Translation: Killing Israelis or Westerners in the name of "struggle" is a human right. You get the picture.

The Clinton Administration expects to negotiate its way through this jungle, hoping to dramatize its leadership on a subject near and dear to its heart. Alas, anti-Americanism is built into the forum, and the Administration heading for a fiasco. What Mr. Clinton should do is what Ronald Reagan did when

the Law of the Sea negotiations took an anti-capitalist turn—pull the plug on the whole thing.

Is Ottawa Worth a Mass?

KIM CAMPBELL's election as leader of Canada's Progressive Conservative Party confirms that Bush Republicanism North is alive—but not particularly well.

Miss Campbell benefitted from media hoopla inspired in part by her role, as Justice Minister, in expanding the rights of homosexuals and diminishing those of gun-owners and men accused of rape. But she proved an eccentric and erratic campaigner and was unexpectedly hard-pressed by a glib Quebec opportunist of no known views.

More generally, the Tories face the characteristic Bush disease of electoral atrophy. Their retiring leader, Brian Mulroney, having continued Pierre Trudeau's policies of expanding government and appeasing their joint home province of Quebec, is monumentally unpopular. The Tory base in Quebec, Mulroney's personal contribution to the party's electoral coalition, is threatened by the new French nationalist *Bloc Québécois* party. The traditional Tory base in Western Canada is threatened by the new right-wing Reform Party fueled by Anglo irritation at perpetual concessions to Quebec.

By choosing Miss Campbell, who is from British Columbia, the Tories appear likely to cede ground in French Canada. But she may not help them much on the Prairies. She represents an atypical, substantially gay, urban Vancouver district. And she has authored a whole series of absurdly elitist gaffes, such as claiming that all "intelligent Canadians" supported Mr. Mulroney's (resoundingly rejected) constitutional referendum last fall. It may be only a matter of time before Westerners figure out she is just Joe Clark (an earlier Western Tory Prime Minister who went native in Ottawa) in drag.

As Prime Minister, Miss Campbell must call a general election this year. The latest polls indicate that she will lose to the federal Liberal Party. But in recent Canadian election campaigns, the polls have been extremely volatile. The Liberals and the socialist New Democratic Party both have weak, unpopular leaders. Given the existence of a number of regional fourth and fifth parties, Canada may be entering a period of hung parliaments and minority governments.

And here (to use a Marxist conceit) the subjective Campbell could matter less than the objective Campbell. Her constitutional views now unquestioningly echo the Ottawa liberal establishment's line. But when the time comes to do a deal behind the Speaker's Chair, giving the *Bloc Québécois* their

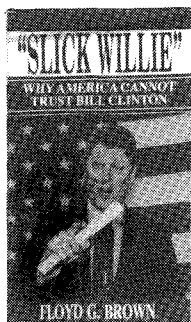
The Cosmos Calls

Receding like systems whose goals
Respond to the pull of black holes,
Health care disappears
As Hillary tears
And hubby turns puce from the polls.

W. H. VON DREELE

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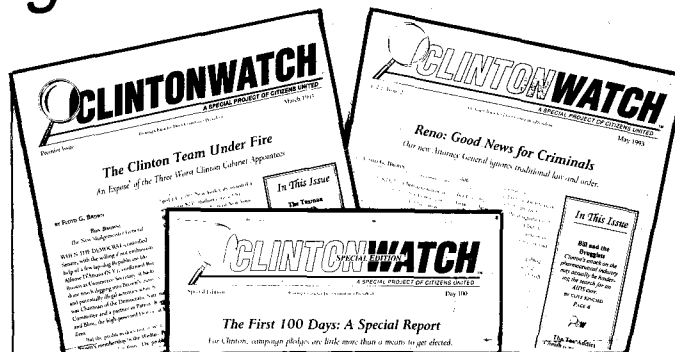
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NR-1

province's sovereignty in return for the parliamentary votes needed to keep the Tories in office, government limousines, and winter junkets to international conferences, Miss Campbell will not be inhibited by the little matter of her own district's geographic location.

In the meantime, Canadians looking for a just-elected woman Prime Minister with views similar to Margaret Thatcher's would be better off in Tansu Ciller's Turkey.

Is Paris Burning?

THE NEW French Foreign Minister, Alain Juppé, paid a call on Warren Christopher in mid May. M. Juppé reportedly came with a proposal for a U.S.-French dialogue on NATO, with a view toward healing the breach in the Western alliance opened up by Charles de Gaulle's peremptory withdrawal of French forces from the NATO com-

RIGHT DATA

Mr. Clinton's Corporate Tax

THE PROPOSED hike in corporate income-tax rates—from 34 to 36 per cent—has attracted little attention compared to other elements of the Clinton tax package. Supporters point to a long-term decline in corporate taxes relative to other federal taxes:

MEASURING THE CORPORATE TAX BURDEN
(\$ Billions)

	Corporate Income Taxes	Total Federal Revenues	Corporate Income Taxes as a Percentage of: Federal Revenues Corporate Profits	
1950	\$17.0	\$ 50.4	33.7%	39.6%
1960	20.6	96.9	21.2	40.6
1970	27.1	195.4	13.8	34.9
1980	58.6	553.0	10.6	32.9
1982	33.8	635.4	5.3	22.3
1986	66.0	827.2	8.0	24.3
1987	85.4	913.8	9.3	26.7
1990	88.5	1,107.4	8.0	24.5
1991	81.7	1,122.2	7.3	23.5

In 1950 corporate income taxes accounted for about one-third of all federal revenues. Despite continued revenue growth the tax share plummeted steadily, to a low of 5.3 per cent in 1982. Liberals blame the decline on tax loopholes or deductions available to corporations.

In reality the decline reflects the failure of pre-tax profits to grow as fast as other forms of income taxed by the government. In 1950 corporate profits accounted for 18 per cent of GDP. Throughout the 1970s they hovered at around 11 per cent. They plunged to 4.9 per cent in 1982, and are currently between 6 and 7 per cent.

Take a look at the recent history of corporate tax law. The Tax Reform Act of 1969 repealed the investment tax credit then available and imposed a minimum tax on depreciation allowances. Signifi-

cant corporate tax reduction in 1981 was canceled by the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act (TEFRA) in 1982, followed by smaller tax hikes in 1984, 1987, and 1988.

None did more damage than the monumental Tax Reform Act of 1986. While cutting the top corporate rate from 46 to 34 per cent, this law abolished the investment tax credit, which had saved companies billions of dollars a year. Perhaps the most damaging feature of the 1986 law was an alternative minimum tax imposed on corporations that earn little or no profit but have large depreciation write-offs. The cumulative effect of this law—and one of its main selling points—was to shift \$120 billion in tax payments from individuals to corporations in the first five years.

Corporations currently pay nearly 25 per cent of their pre-tax profits to the Federal Government. And state and local corporate income-tax collections—\$25 billion in 1992—have grown faster than the federal tax in recent years. Social Security taxes represent a still larger tax liability for business. All in all, the effective tax rate on profits exceeds 80 per cent, according to the Tax Foundation.

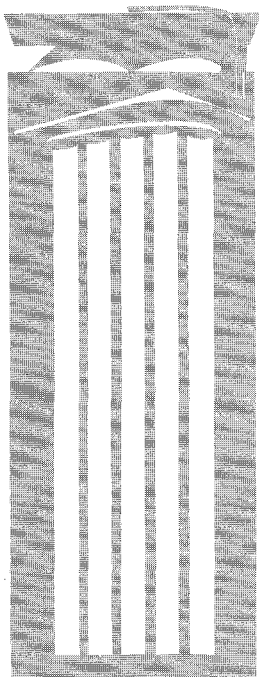
Treasury officials fear that if the top personal income-tax rate rises to 36 per cent while the corporate rate remains at 34 per cent, there would be a surge of phony incorporations. Perhaps. But the corporate tax already creates a notorious double taxation of profits—when earned by the corporation, and when distributed to shareholders as dividends. Norman Ture of the Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation estimates that taxes paid on corporate profits are 40 per cent greater than the amount shareholders would have paid if earnings flowed directly to them and were taxed at personal income-tax rates.

Corporate taxes are ultimately paid by individuals, in the form of lower wages for employees, higher prices for consumers, and lower returns to stockholders. An ideal tax system would have no corporate tax whatsoever.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

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mand in the mid Sixties. The French have been complaining that the NATO structure doesn't do justice to Europe's new unity. M. Juppé was ready to discuss any American ideas on the subject.

Reaction from the Clinton Administration? Nothing. Indifference. Incomprehension. A golden opportunity to repair the cohesion of Western security at a pivotal moment was flubbed by the man who seems to be auditioning for the Peter Sellers role of the Chauncey Gardner of U.S. foreign policy.

The French are fearful of German dominance of Europe and the chaos in the East; the Gaullists newly returned to power have gotten over their old complexes about the U.S. and are desperate to keep us in Europe. Even on agriculture, a brutally tough domestic issue, the French have swallowed hard and endorsed a recent compromise between the U.S. and the European Community on oilseeds, improving the chances for a successful multilateral trade liberalization in GATT. Undoubtedly a part of the French calculation was the desire to prevent the transatlantic trade squabbles from wrecking Western political solidarity. The tragedy is that the French have encountered a U.S. Administration that is brain-dead on strategic issues.

Dishonored!

OBSERVERS of the controversy are familiar with the general plot. 1) Anita Hill accuses nominee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment. 2) Thomas is confirmed, and sits now on the Court. 3) The bitter-enders, determined to establish, or rather emanate, that the Senate is composed of male chauvinist pigs, have not relented in their effort to document that Anita Hill was right, Thomas a liar. 4) David Brock published a book on the question that was respectfully reviewed even by critics who would incline to disbelieve anything that tended to exonerate a man with such conservative opinions as Justice Thomas. 5) A counterattack was launched in *The New Yorker* by two journalists who are also writing a book about Anita Hill, a/k/a Joan of Arc. 6) Anthony Lewis blasts forth from his eyrie in the Aurora Borealis to denounce Brock for the "sleaze" of his book, adducing as evidence of Brock's corruption that although he accepted a grant from the John M. Olin Foundation to pursue his research, he did not divulge that the Olin Foundation is a (sleazy?) conservative foundation, addicted to disinformation.

William Simon, the president of Olin, then published in the *Wall Street Journal* an op-ed piece in which he calmly opined that Mr. Thomas had been defamed, and confirmed that yes, the Olin Foundation had made a grant to David Brock. But this turns out to have been not quite on the order of

"bankrolling" David Brock, the word used in *The New Yorker*. The grant was for \$5,000, which will not take you very far in a one-year investigation.

Mr. Simon then revealed that not long ago, Mr. Lewis appeared before the U.S. Air Force Academy to give his views on foreign policy. And who bankrolled that speech? Well, the John M. Olin Foundation. To the tune of what? To the tune of \$5,000.

Did Mr. Lewis touch pitch by accepting that grant? Has he been defiled?

Well, just to begin with, he might return the five grand. And then he might write a column, the point of which would need to be that conservatives are defiled when they accept money from the Olin Foundation, but that liberals aren't. He would have zero trouble with the logic of this formulation. He has zero trouble with logic, period.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Memo to: Our Readers

From: WFB

Re: Mal

Some of you have written in to ask how is it that we continue to publish cartoons by Mal (Hancock) given that he died in February. Managing Editor Linda Bridges comments: "In fact, since Mal never tied his cartoons to specific news events, and since his topic—the human condition—never really changes, a Mal from 35 years ago can be slipped into a page today and look right at home: which is what we have been doing, rather than deprive our readers and ourselves of his company." Dear Linda. I wonder if she will do as much for me, sob, when I am dead?

■ Memo to: Wm

From: Wm [F. Rickenbacker]

I thought you might find this exchange with my son Jamie of interest.

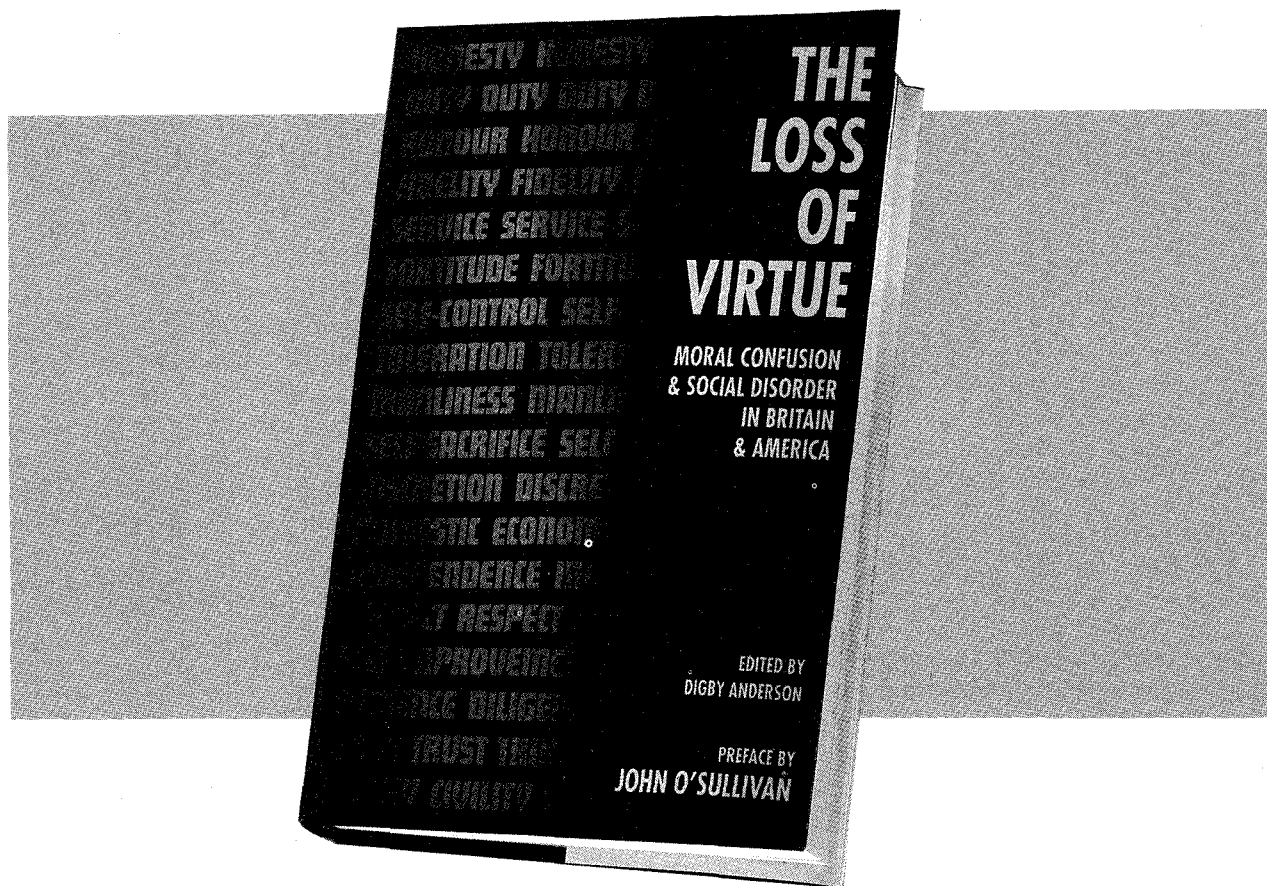
Dear Dad:

I called Elsie today to ask how much a health-insurance policy for you would cost and whether there were better uses for the \$500 check you so kindly sent me. I feel I have not yet earned it.

My inquiry led into a discussion of your reluctance to exercise your medical-insurance coverage offered through Social Security (I know the very words make you cringe). I remember hearing you state that you did not plan to accept Social Security benefits. Your reasons were to the effect that you did not believe in this insurance and/or you did not want to be a burden on society and future generations by taking funds from a bankrupt program.

While I share your desire for a more responsible

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citizenry (one which does not depend upon government for retirement benefits) and your aversion to government intervention in the lives of individuals, is there not a point at which the actions become self-destructive and ultimately counter-productive? For all of your working life you have paid into a system designed to provide benefits after age 65. Now, when you are due the benefits, you need the benefits, and the medical establishment is anticipating you will have the benefits, you are reluctant to use them. Are you any less of a burden on society if medical providers must treat you with no prospect for reimbursement and therefore charges to paying clients must be higher than if you exercised the Medicare insurance option for which you have already paid? Take advantage of what you have purchased and enroll in the Medicare program. And then take the time and energy the "system" would have taken from you for not having adequate insurance and invest it in your lifelong pursuit of "understanding" or the defense of "life, liberty, and property" through your writing.

And if the above is not sufficient let me also point out that my concern is selfish as well as loving. It is my understanding that there is now legislation in place that permits medical providers to seek payment from next of kin. That puts Tommy and me potentially at financial risk regardless of the merit or nobleness of your arguments.

I strongly encourage you to think of yourself and your family's best interest and take advantage of the Medicare option that is available to you. You have until the end of this month to enroll in the program for 1993.

Love,
JR

Dear Jamie—

Your letter, as I've already said, was well intended, and I thank you for taking the time to write it.

Two major points, I think, deserve more attention than you gave them. 1) It would be hypocritical in me to accept subsidized services even while publishing antagonistic analyses of the systems that produce them. That being so, if I accept the handout, I have the choice between hypocrisy and intellectual suffocation; and since neither choice suits me, I must forgo the freebies. 2) It is not true, I hope, that the only way to finance my principles is to lean on you. I am working like mad to establish new sources of income, any one of which would do the trick quite suitably.

A final consideration is that at the end of a productive life I find no difficulty with letting nature take her course. But this is the sort of talk that is habitually avoided, and with good reason, by civilized and sensitive people.

With love as always,
Daddy

Dear Wm,

I respectfully disagree with you. And it is a disagreement along lines long-standing. When I was an undergraduate at Yale, and brother James, the future sainted junior senator from New York, was in the Yale Law School, the Connecticut legislature declared a bonus of one hundred dollars for every veteran. Jim sent back his check, citing such arguments as you use now in re Medicare (he opposed the veterans' bonus). I cashed mine. And, as ever, published an editorial in the *Yale Daily News* with my reasoning. To wit, in a democratic society it is not hypocritical to take advantage of benefits irrespective of whether you disapprove of the legislation that brought them into being. You can vote against the TVA and still pay the subsidized rate of electricity in that region. You can deplore the structure of Social Security, and cash the checks—you are always free, after all, to use the receipts to finance extra efforts to oppose more of the same. Our friend Hans Sennholz—who you will have noticed has returned to the Foundation for Economic Education, having retired as professor at Grove City College—reasons as you do, but refines the point by saying that since Social Security is not self-financing, by accepting a check he is engaged in stealing from younger people. I think stealing is the wrong word, though I might settle for this compromise: Accept your Social Security until you have been repaid, with compound interest, the total you have paid out; and disdain it thereafter. What say, Wm?

Ever,
Wm
—WFB

ON THE SCENE

SDI, R I P

VIN WEBER



Chris Miles

WASHINGTON, D.C.
ON MAY 13, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin made a surprise appearance at the Pentagon briefing room. His purpose? To announce the Clinton Administration's decision to gut the Strategic Defense Initiative. The decision, Aspin derisively declared, marks "the end of the Star Wars era." After nearly a decade of research—and a \$38-billion national investment—America's chance to build a space-based shield against nuclear attack in the foreseeable future is now dead.

SDI died a quiet death. The GOP's silence was deafening. Some conservatives, like Ken Adelman, praised SDI's role in the defeat of Communism. Few, however—including few congressional Republicans—rose to challenge the decision, or to point out the tragedy it poses for the future of American national security.

In fact, the strongest reaction came

Mr. Weber, the former congressman from Minnesota, is co-founder of the new conservative group Empower America.

from former President Ronald Reagan, speaking to graduates at The Citadel a few days after the Aspin announcement. "The [Democrats] have been all too eager to denounce this program for years, and they have been proven wrong time and time again," Reagan said.

At his press conference, Aspin had stated that SDI was no longer needed because the nuclear threat to the United States "has receded to the vanishing point." President Reagan challenged this rationale directly: "If the new Administration thinks we are no longer at risk, they need to open their eyes and take a good hard look at the world."

He is right. Consider only a few recent revelations about the post-Cold War world:

—The power struggle in Russia showed how unstable Russia's new democracy still is—and threatened to place the former Soviet Union's massive nuclear arsenal in the hands of potentially authoritarian rulers with uncertain intentions.

—A report in *The New Yorker* detailed how, just three years ago, India and Pakistan were on the verge of actually waging a regional nuclear war.

—North Korea threatened to withdraw from the Non-Proliferation Treaty, indicating that the Stalinist Pyongyang regime may be very close to assembling nuclear weapons.

—An increasingly unstable South Africa revealed that, during the 1980s, it had actually assembled six nuclear weapons, without the assistance of Western scientists or the knowledge of Western intelligence.

Clearly the greatest emerging threat to American national security lies in the proliferation of nuclear weapons. At a recent Senate hearing, Major General Malcolm O'Neill, acting

director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO), underscored this danger.

O'Neill told the Defense Appropriations subcommittee that the nuclear threat from the Third World is growing: "Some 25 nations, many of them hostile to the United States, may possess or be developing" missile systems capable of delivering chemical, biological, and nuclear warheads. "The trend," he argued, "is in the direction of . . . increasing range, lethality, and sophistication."

To grasp the scope of the problem, one needs only to imagine what could have happened if Saddam Hussein had possessed, not limited-range SCUD missiles, but one or two Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). Thus armed, Saddam could have held the international community hostage.

And yet the Clinton Administration has reacted to the spread of advanced weaponry among dozens of small nations by reverting to a policy that was (arguably) appropriate when our concern was a single massively armed adversary with a First Strike scenario. Secretary Aspin announced last week that the SDIO has been renamed the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization (BMDO)—the name the program had before President Reagan announced his intention to pursue space-based defenses in 1983. This is more than a symbolic change. The purpose of BMDO was to protect our missiles, ensuring that they could survive a Soviet first strike. President Reagan's innovation was to shift the focus from protecting America indirectly by protecting our missiles, to protecting civilian populations directly.

By changing back to the old BMDO, we have presumably abandoned this goal of protecting civilian population centers. But the emerging nuclear threat is not to our missile silos. It lies in the possibility of a nuclear-armed tyrant threatening New York or Boston with a limited nuclear attack. The "new" BMDO is not designed to protect against this eventuality.

Secretary Aspin claims that there has been no cut in SDI spending. This is simply not true. In its 1994 Defense budget, released in April, the Administration had already cut the 1994 allocation for the SDIO by \$2.5 billion—an immediate reduction of nearly 40 per cent from the Bush Administration's proposed budget for Strategic

Defense. And the Administration has stated its intention to cut more than \$10 billion from the program's budget by 1999.

Space-based defenses and sensors have been, for all intents and purposes, eliminated. Among the projects dramatically cut, or terminated entirely, are: the much-heralded "Brilliant Pebbles" missile interceptor, designed to intercept and destroy missiles while still in space; "Brilliant Eyes" satellites, designed to locate and identify incoming missiles; and a variety of programs designed to develop directed-energy—or laser—technology.

What's left? The Clinton Administration has shifted the focus of the program away from a space-based national missile defense and toward "theater defenses"—systems that are designed to defend combat troops from tactical, or battlefield, missile attack. The extent of the Administration's initiative to deal with the emerging nuclear threat seems to be directing \$400 million in the 1994 budget for dismantling the former Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal.

The irony of the Clinton cuts is that SDI would be particularly well suited to the post-Cold War era. Technology originally conceived to defend against 30,000 Soviet missiles certainly could be harnessed to provide an effective defense against a handful of ICBMs from a Third World nuclear tyrant. And the very existence of such a defense could deter a small power from ever playing its nuclear card in a showdown with the United States.

Senator Jim Sasser (D., Tenn.), responding to Major General O'Neill's testimony, dismissed such concerns, stating: "When you walk down the streets of this city you'll find that most people are less concerned about Saddam Hussein and any other dictator than they are of somebody pushing a .45 up in their stomach and blowing a hole in it." Sadly, few congressional Republicans seem interested in taking on this sort of short-sightedness. But if the GOP won't defend SDI, who will?

In his commencement speech, President Reagan told the graduates at The Citadel how imperative it is to save the Strategic Defense Initiative. "I may not be a Rhodes Scholar," Reagan said, "but I do know one thing: If we can protect America with a defensive shield from incoming missiles, we

should by all means do so." This simple logic seems to be lost on President Clinton. And as his Administration prepares to leave America strategi-

cally naked against the emerging nuclear threat, Reagan and O'Neill seem to be the only ones speaking out. They could use a little help. □

Outer Circles

RICHARD BROOKHISER



THE ONLY difference between David Dinkins and Rudy Giuliani is the way they part their hair," says George Marlin, Conservative candidate for mayor of New York, speaking of the incumbent and his Republican-Liberal challenger.

Marlin, forty, parts his hair very strictly. He looks every inch an investment portfolio manager, which is what he is, and he is 6 feet 6 inches tall. When he was young he saw in the papers a picture of Dean Acheson, wearing a necktie puffed over the top of his vest, which so impressed Marlin that he wore his ties the same way—until he decided to run for mayor, when democracy obliged him to appear in two-piece suits.

The first speech of Marlin's campaign, after declaring his candidacy, was at a tiny public library in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn. Marlin's introducer told the audience that the candidate was Brooklyn born, but that he now lived in Queens—"He deserted us."

"But I haven't moved to Manhattan," Marlin pointed out when he

began his remarks. Most Americans think of all New York as Hell, but, as in Hell, there are descending circles, and to residents of the outer boroughs, Manhattan is the circle where Satan dines with Brutus, Cassius, and Judas. For Marlin, Manhattan is specifically a symbol of ambitious bureaucrats and trend-surfing social engineers.

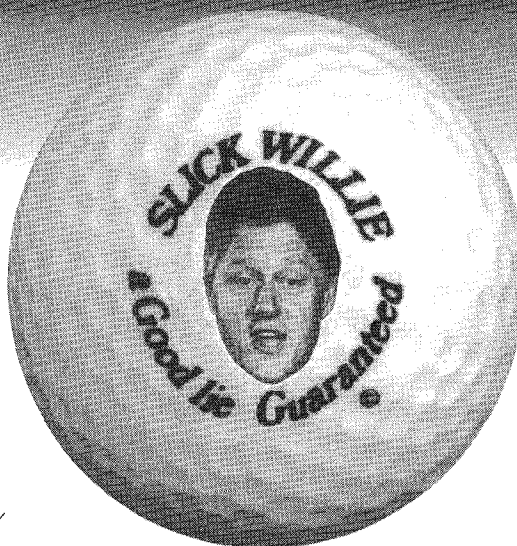
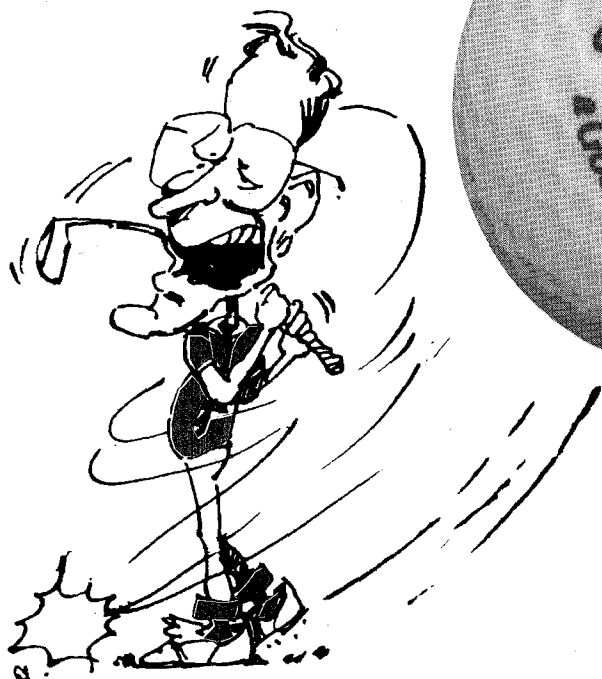
"What got me to run was a seventy-year-old grandmother, Mary Cummins, who looked Joe Fernandez in the face and said, I will not compromise with evil." By now, the showdown between Mrs. Cummins, chairman of the school board of District 24, and Joseph Fernandez, Chancellor of Schools, has become a tale told at campfires wherever social conservatives gather. Neither of the mayoral frontrunners, Marlin said, "came to the neighborhoods and said, I'm with you" when the fight was on. Marlin didn't have to go anywhere: he lives in District 24, and Mrs. Cummins seconded his nomination at the Conservative Party convention in May. "We spoke up and we won; we can take them on."

Marlin's second theme was dollars and cents—too many of them being scooped up by taxes. He called the roll of business taxes: the unincorporated business tax, the commercial rent tax, the sales tax, the hotel taxes that keep conventions away. In extreme cases, big business can wring abatements from City Hall; taxes hurt most the small business whose customers, especially in this part of Brooklyn, can cross the Verrazano Narrows Bridge and Staten Island, and do their shopping in Jersey.

Last came crime, which is former prosecutor Giuliani's strong suit. Marlin, the son and grandson of New York cops, believes Giuliani's reputation is undeserved; before the meeting, he told me that as a prosecutor Giuliani had been "a bully and a headline hunter." Why not put convicts in work

Mr. Brookhiser, an NR senior editor, is a columnist for the New York Observer.

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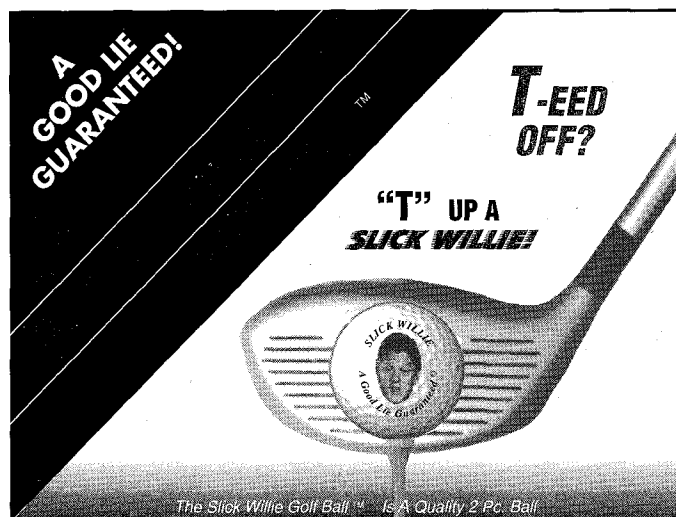
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gangs? he asked the audience at the library, getting his one burst of applause of the evening.

The Marlin speech is not a control panel of separate hot buttons. Marlin is an amateur student of city history—he and journalist Joe Mysak are writing a book on the last century of New York politics—with a special interest in neighborhoods as a social unit. Neighborhoods like present-day Sunset Park are “economically poor, but not behaviorally poor”—and even in economic terms, they are not destitute. Why? Culture and economics are “all interconnected. We are turning out cultural illiterates who don’t have the ability to hold jobs. Every year we pay more to get less. This is the treadmill to oblivion.” Liberals read “neighborhoods” as code for “whites,” but that is not what Marlin means. Thirty-seven per cent of the city’s Hispanics are evangelical Protestants; “that is where I intend to spend most of my time.”

The present occupant of the treadmill to oblivion is Mayor David Dinkins. His notions of fiscal responsibility lurch between generous deals with the municipal unions, his main supporters, and complaints that Albany and Washington don’t give him enough money. His record on race relations has been equally bleak. Last year saw a Dominican riot in Washington Heights, caused when a cop killed a popular local drug dealer (Dinkins paid for the drug dealer’s funeral); the year before that was the black riot in Crown Heights, when mobs roamed the streets chanting “Heil Hitler” (Dinkins took three days to respond in full force); the year before that, blacks conducted a months-long boycott of a Korean fruit stand in Flatbush (Dinkins kept mum—one of the ringleaders of the boycott had been on his campaign payroll).

Dinkins’s woes attracted City Council President Andrew Stein to the Democratic primary. With the help of Barbra Streisand and Frank Sinatra, Stein raised millions, and without anyone’s help he spent them. But, apart from a few economic ideas borrowed from the Manhattan Institute, the local conservative think-tank, Stein’s positions were little different from Dinkins’s. By May, polls showed Stein trailing the mayor by 36 points, and he dropped out.

That left Giuliani. Four years ago,

the former prosecutor, who had sent crooked borough presidents and high-flying arbitrageurs to the slammer, seemed like God. He campaigned like God, too, or at least like a Deist’s version, keeping a profound silence on any issue save “*lawr* and order.” With nothing else to go on, voters were guided by ethnic atavism: blacks went for Dinkins, white Catholics for Giuliani. Jews split. Giuliani lost by less than two percentage points.

This time around, Giuliani is running another divinity campaign, with a few stabs at concreteness. Whenever he comes down to earth, however, he has a way of landing in Manhattan. He has backed laws that would penalize “bias” crimes, and laws that would recognize the gay partnerships of city employees. The Conservative Party,

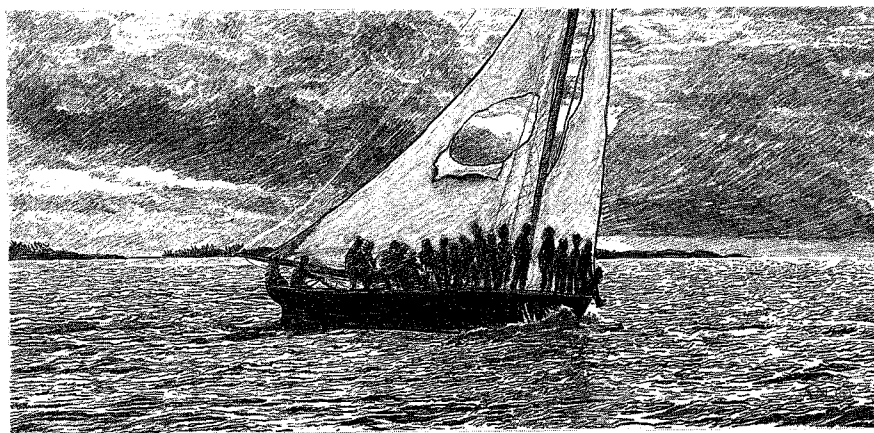
having witnessed the Bush Administration, did not want to see it reborn in Gotham. Roy Innis, who remains a candidate in the Democratic primary, can’t convincingly prove that he lives in Brooklyn instead of the suburbs. Enter Marlin.

Marlin has no chance of winning. But even a rock-bottom Conservative showing of 4 to 5 per cent would be larger than the spread in the last election. Marlin’s presence in the campaign could force Giuliani to say exactly how liberal he is.

The more important goal, beyond stopping Giuliani, is to present an alternative. “People want leaders,” says Marlin. Veterans of the school-board fight “realize the need to keep this thing going. I want to take it to the steps of City Hall.” □

Waiting for Aristide

SELDEN RODMAN



Alan Nahigian

THE DAY my wife and I returned to Haiti—where we had lived off and on for 17 years—a bomb exploded near the International Airport, killing 23 Haitians. There was no mention of it in the press, TV, or radio. No local police reports. Who set it off? “Drug profiteers,” an armed guard at the Hotel Montana confided. “The hotels are not affected.” Both parts of his response were accurate. Drugs have indeed become the main business in Haiti. With American connivance, in a sense, for our Coast Guard cutters that ring Haiti’s long coastline have one purpose only: to keep Haiti’s ever-hopeful poor from entering the Promised Land illegally.

A friend of ours in the American

Embassy was in an upbeat mood the day we arrived. “The government have now accepted the fact that Aristide must return,” he chirped.

“Does that mean,” we asked him, “that he’s now willing to negotiate?”

“Not necessarily,” our friend replied, looking a bit shocked.

But an older Haitian friend put it more realistically: “I hear that you Americans are going to force us to take back that dreadful man who says he wants to put flaming tires around our necks.”

She was referring to a famous speech the little liberation priest made

Mr. Rodman is the author of Haiti: The Black Republic, Renaissance in Haiti, and Where Art Is Joy.

the day before the military seized him in September 1991 and our compliant ambassador conducted him safely to the airport. In that speech Aristide had characterized the flaming tires (known as Père Lebrun) thus: *"What a beautiful tool! What a beautiful instrument! It's beautiful, it's cute, it's pretty, it has a good smell: wherever you go you want to inhale it. Since the law of the country says Macoutes aren't in the game, whatever happens to them they deserve. . . . This is the word of justice I share with you. I throw the ball to you. You dribble it. You shoot from the penalty box. . . . All alone we are weak, but together we are strong. Together we are the flood!"* Frenzy.

HOW DID Haiti get saddled with Aristide? It was not a new phenomenon. Every nation in deep trouble turns to a savior. Rome turned to Caesar. France turned to Napoleon. Russia to Lenin. Germany to Hitler. Aristide does not measure up to those legendary crowd-pleasers, but in Haiti he has four things going for him: he is black, he is a man of God, he is a born orator, and he presided over that part of Haiti that was most over-populated and desperate, the teeming Cité Soleil slums.

My wife, Carole, and I were in Haiti in December 1990, the day that this hero of the masses was elected. We watched the people singing in the streets, waving palm branches in their joy. We were sad. The people knew that a man of good will who genuinely cared about them had been elected. They did *not* know, as we and most educated Haitians knew, that this man did not have the expertise or the temperament to deal with the diplomats and the foreign banks, to get the loans Haiti so desperately needed. They did not know that his far-left rhetoric would frighten away entrepreneurs from abroad who could have given the ailing Haitian economy a shot in the arm. Indeed, wealthy Haitians in fear of his regime were already sending their money abroad.

Aristide was inaugurated the following February, and during the seven months that he was in power the economy went from bad to worse. That summer in the capital, where all the industry is, there was almost no electricity. Aristide was frustrated. He could not give the people the things he had promised. Finally he turned on

the business class, using them as scapegoats, and in that speech he urged his followers to ring the necks of their "enemies" with the flaming tires. It was only then that the army and the well-to-do joined forces to overthrow him. They did it not in defense of their wealth and power, but in defense of their lives.

Under what conditions can Aristide return to Haiti? If he returns without an armed guard, he will be assassinated. (As late as two weeks ago, Aristide took the precaution of delivering a speech even in friendly Brooklyn by videotape.) If he has an armed guard in Port-au-Prince, the army and the commercial class will be justifiably nervous, for it was from such a militia that François Duvalier recruited his infamous Tonton-Macoutes.

The situation has been complicated in the last few days by the resignation of Marc Bazin as prime minister. When we went to see Bazin in the National Palace, one of the first things he told us was that neither he nor General Cédras, who heads the armed forces, had any intention of letting Aristide return to Haiti. While Bazin no longer has much say in the matter (although his resignation has not yet

taken effect), Cédras is unlikely to have changed his mind.

After all, nothing has happened to change the analysis Bazin laid out when we spoke earlier this year. Aristide, said Bazin, "is not a true democrat but a populist who would have allowed the street mob to set him in the Palace had the election not gone his way. As a ruler Aristide is totally incompetent. He doesn't *want* to come back. Every time our negotiations reach a point at which he might be able to, he changes his demands. He *knows* he can't run this country. He tried, didn't he? He'd rather be a martyr. He knows he couldn't come back and survive without an international armed force with American participation to protect him. But do you Americans really *want* to become that involved here—and to place a known anti-American in the president's chair?" He laughed. "And once you Americans come back in, how long would you stay? How long were you here last time? Nineteen years?" (Yes: from 1914 to 1934.)

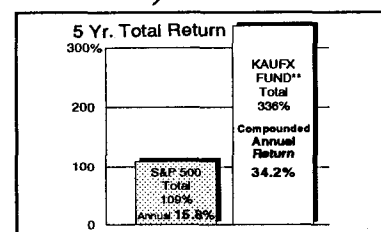
"In order to get the embargo lifted, my government is prepared to recognize that Aristide is the legitimate

(Continues on page 60)

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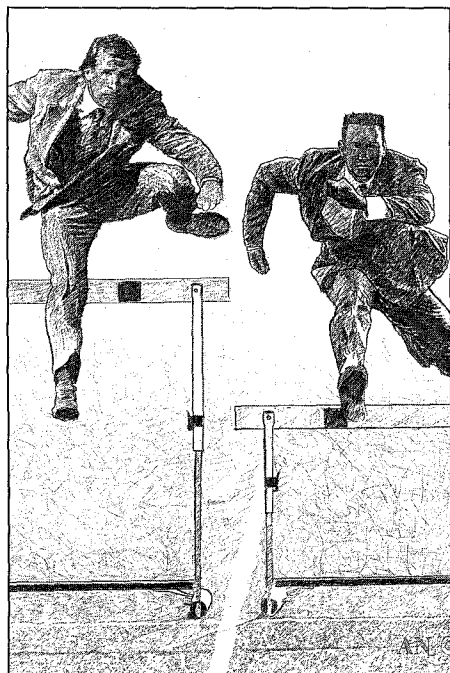
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AFFIRMATIVE DISCRIMINATION

A color-blind society was the goal of the great civil-rights leaders of the Fifties and Sixties. How did that idea get transmuted into a demeaning and counterproductive numbers game?

LINO A. GRAGLIA

THE *Brown* decision in 1954, and a companion case, *Bolling v. Sharpe*, prohibited legally required racial segregation in schools and, it quickly appeared, in any government-run facility—e.g., public beaches and bathhouses, municipal golf courses, city buses. The power and appeal of the *Brown* non-discrimination principle proved irresistible and led to the greatest civil-rights advance in our history, the enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, soon supplemented by the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1968 Fair Housing Act. Racial discrimination was at last effectively prohibited.

It is not to be expected, however, that so great a moral crusade would be permitted to come to an end merely because its objective had been accomplished. On the contrary, total success more easily serves as a spur to still greater accomplishments.

Racial discrimination had been prohibited and largely ended, but equality of condition between blacks and whites obviously would not quickly be the result. The time had therefore come to move to equality of condition by fiat. The crucial move was made by the Supreme Court in *Green v. County School Board* in 1968, in which the Court changed the *Brown* prohibition of segregation and all racial discrimination by government into a requirement of integration and racial discrimination by government.

It was not politically feasible in 1968 for the Court candidly to state its new position. The Court avoided this by insisting that although assignment to schools by

race was indeed now required, it was not required for its own sake, but only as a “remedy” for past unconstitutional segregation. As Justice Blackmun wrote, concurring in the *Bakke* case ten years later: “In order to get beyond racism, we must first take race into account. There is no other way.”

Compulsory racial discrimination had to be defended not only as consistent with and, indeed, required by the Constitution as interpreted in *Brown*, but also as consistent with Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Title IV, requiring the denial of federal funds to school districts that fail to desegregate, defines “desegregation” as the assignment of students to schools “without regard to their race” and, redundantly, as *not* the assignment and transportation of students to schools “to overcome racial imbalance.” In 1971 in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, the first busing case, the Court nonetheless upheld a district-court order that required the assignment and transportation of students to schools on the basis of race. This was consistent with the 1964 Act, the Court explained, because it was not requiring racial balance for its own sake, but only to “remedy” earlier racial discrimination.

What the Court did to the Constitution and Title IV in *Green* and *Swann* it also did to the Constitution and other titles of the Civil Rights Act when it encountered the question of “affirmative action” in employment and higher education. The term “affirmative action” had perhaps first been used in Executive Order 10925, issued by the Kennedy Administration in March 1961, directed at eliminating racial discrimination by government contractors. It originally meant the taking of positive steps—for example, the widespread advertising of job openings—to equalize opportunity. But with the passing of time its meaning changed.

Mr. Graglia is A. Dalton Cross Professor of Law at the University of Texas at Austin. This essay is adapted from a chapter of the forthcoming book, *The Imperiled Academy* (Howard Dickman, ed., Transaction, 1993).

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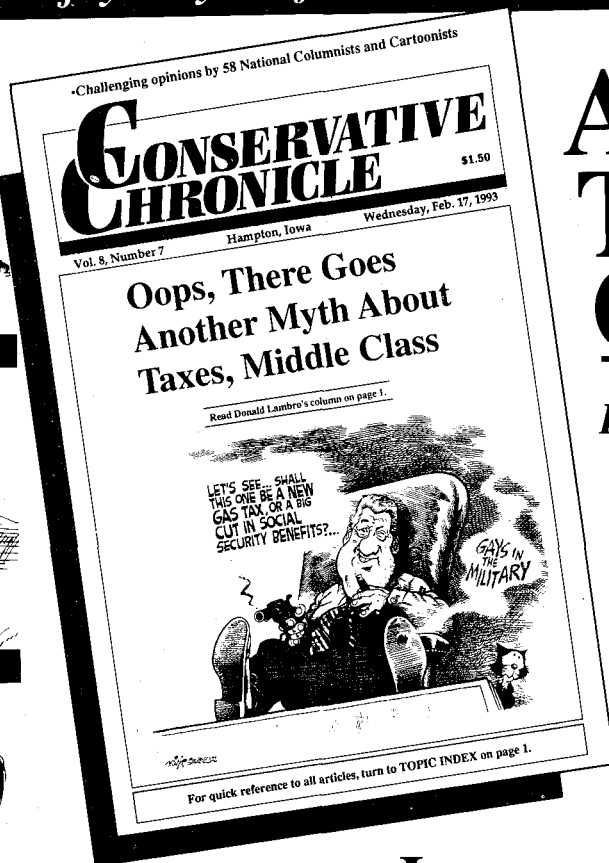
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Title VII prohibits racial discrimination in employment. In *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* in 1971, the Court, disallowing defendant company's use of ordinary employment criteria (e.g., high-school diploma, literacy) that disproportionately disqualified blacks, held in effect that Title VII required, not that employment decisions be made without regard to race, but that they *not* be made without regard to race. In *United Steelworkers v. Weber* in 1979, the Court carried *Griggs* to its logical conclusion by holding that Title VII's prohibition of racial discrimination against "any individual" did not apply to discrimination against whites.

Title VI prohibits racial discrimination by institutions that receive federal funds. Yet in 1978, in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, the Court held that Title VI also did not apply to discrimination against whites. There was no evidence in any of the cases that the preferred blacks had been discriminated against by the employer or educational institution or that the rejected whites had caused or benefited from any such discrimination. Despite the remedy rationale, the absence of a showing of actual racial injury and racial benefit was simply irrelevant.

Group Benefits, Group Costs

THE BASIS of the rationale is the assumption that members of all racial groups can be expected to appear in all institutions and activities more or less proportionately to their numbers in the general population. The "underrepresentation" of any racial group, it is therefore argued, can be taken as evidence of discrimination. The argument necessarily invites a search for alternative explanations, and alternative explanations are not difficult to find.

The fact is that there is a very large, long-standing, and apparently unyielding difference between blacks as a group and whites as a group—despite, of course, large areas of overlap—in academic ability as measured by standard aptitude and achievement tests, such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), Law School Admissions Test (LSAT), Medical College Admission Test (MCAT), and Graduate Record Examination, Quantitative (GREQ). Robert Klitgaard, a former admissions officer at Harvard, reports that of those who took the GREQ in the 1978–79 school year, only 143 blacks had scores above 650, compared to 27,470 whites, and only 50 blacks had scores above 700, compared to 14,450 whites. Among law-school entrants in the fall of 1976, the total number of blacks with LSAT scores above 600 (old scale) and an undergraduate Grade Point Average (GPA) above 3.25 (B+) was 39; the number of whites with such scores was 13,151.

Any messenger who brings news this bad will, of course, have to be attacked. In the early days of "affirmative action" (the late 1960s and early 1970s) a principal claim of its proponents was that the standard tests were biased against members of racial minorities. If this were true, then the admission of members of such groups with lower scores than are required for whites

would not constitute the use of racial preferences but merely an attempt to make prediction more accurate; no "affirmative action" is involved in adjusting measuring devices to measure more accurately.

The claim, however, is not true. By test bias is meant, presumably, that the test generally underpredicts the actual performance of members of some group. There is now general agreement that the ability and achievement tests are not biased by this standard. Indeed, investigations have shown that the tests very substantially *overpredict* the actual performance of blacks.

Even leaving overprediction out of account, the number of blacks meeting the ordinary admission criteria for even moderately selective institutions is extremely low. Most elite schools of all types, however, now strive to obtain an entering class that is at least 5 per cent black. To obtain this percentage requires, not that blacks be preferred to whites when all other things are more or less equal—a common understanding of "affirmative action"—or even that the ordinary admission standards be bent or shaded; it requires that ordinary standards be largely abandoned.

A frequently noted effect is virtually to guarantee that the preferentially admitted students are placed in schools for which they are greatly underqualified. It is as if professional baseball decided to "advantage" an identifiable group of players at the beginning of their professional careers by placing them in a league at least one level above the one in which they could be expected to compete effectively.

Equality by Stealth

THE admission of an identifiable group of greatly underqualified students is a prescription for frustration, resentment, loss of self-esteem, and racial animosity. Forces powerful enough to institute so radical and unpromising a program will, however, be powerful enough to respond to its disastrous consequences with something other than a confession that they have made a terrible mistake. If the racially admitted prove unable to do the work, that will indicate that the curriculum has to be changed. If racial preferences generate racial resentments, that will indicate that whites require specialized instruction in the moral shortcomings of their race. If "affirmative action" is then even more strongly protested, that will indicate that protest must be disallowed.

Thus are born demands for black studies and multiculturalism, which perform the twin functions of reducing the need for ordinary academic work and providing support for the view that the academic difficulties of the black students are the result, not of substantially lower qualifications, but of racial antipathy.

And thus the current insistence on "political correctness," sanctioned by ostracism, vilification, or worse, and the suddenly discovered need for "anti-harassment" and "hate speech" codes. Nothing is more politically incorrect than to point out that a school's "affirmative ac-

tion" policy is actually a policy of racially preferential admissions, unless it is to specify the actual disparity in the admissions standards being applied to persons from different racial groups. Proponents of anti-harassment codes are correct that it is extremely humiliating to racially preferred students to have a public discussion of the school's admission policy. Instead of concluding that the policy is, for this reason alone, very unlikely to prove beneficial, they conclude that such discussions must be banned.

"Affirmative action" is a fungus that can survive only underground in the dark. If "affirmative action" is a morally defensible policy, why are its proponents loath to have it known just how moral they have been? Because, of course, no one wants it known that he is, as black Yale law professor Stephen Carter puts it, "an affirmative action baby." Or as Thomas Sowell puts it: "What all the arguments and campaigns for quotas are really saying, loud and clear, is that *black people just don't have it*, and that they will have to be given something in order to have something.

... Those black people who are already competent ... will be completely undermined, as black becomes synonymous—in the minds of black and white alike—with incompetence, and black achievement becomes synonymous with charity or payoffs."

A recent typically ludicrous illustration of the deceit inherent in "affirmative action" was provided when Georgetown law student Timothy Maguire disclosed in a student newspaper his discovery that his black classmates were admitted with much lower LSAT scores and GPAs than those required of whites. The result was outraged protest by the black students and indignant disavowal, in effect, of "affirmative action" by those who were most responsible for its adoption. Although known as an ardent proponent of racially preferential admissions, Dean Judith Areen flatly denied that any racially preferential admissions took place at the school she led. Those who mistakenly thought otherwise failed to understand that many factors—e.g., a required essay—are considered in determining admission.

We are to understand, apparently, that there is an inverse correlation between high LSAT scores and GPAs and ability to write an essay on why one wants to be a law student at Georgetown. This peculiarity also manifests itself disproportionately in the case of black applicants. This explanation made sense to the editorial writers of the *New York Times*, who repeated it in an editorial severely chastising Maguire for his "obsession with numbers" and total misunderstanding of the Georgetown admission process.

The American Association of Law Schools (AALS), the Law School Admission Council, and the American

Bar Association (ABA), Section of Legal Education and Admission to the Bar, felt called upon to comment on the Georgetown incident. Like Dean Areen, the highest officials of the legal-education establishment asserted that the critics failed to understand the complexities of the law-school admission process. "Besides the LSAT and undergraduate GPA," a joint press release explained, "several other considerations are taken into account." These considerations include "personal statements from applicants, letters of recommendation, work experience, and the applicant's prior success in overcoming personal disadvantage." The list included no mention of race. Small wonder that innocent newspapers like the *New York Times* are bewildered as to how strange notions about the use of racial preferences in law-school admissions could possibly have arisen.

To law schools, however, the press release did more than provide a demonstration of lawyerly skill and example of lawyerly integrity. The AALS and ABA are accrediting institutions. Their stated accreditation



"YOU'RE FREE TO GO."

standards make clear—and their visiting accreditation committees, usually nicely balanced by race and sex, make even clearer—that a substantial number of black students is an accreditation consideration.

Disadvantage and Diversity

THE VARIOUS arguments offered for "affirmative action" have grown almost too threadbare with use to require further refutation. By far the most important, that racial preferences can be justified as compensation for past unfair disadvantages, is obviously invalid, because preferences truly meant to compensate for disadvantage would be applied on the basis of disadvantage, not on the basis of race. Persons who have been unfairly disadvantaged should undoubtedly be made whole to the extent feasible, but race is neither an accurate nor an appropriate proxy for such disadvantage. It is inaccurate because not all and not only blacks have suffered from disadvantage. Indeed, ra-

cially preferential admissions to institutions of higher education ordinarily help, not those most in need of help, but middle-class and upper-middle-class blacks. The argument from disadvantage has potency only because, as Glenn Loury has put it, "The suffering of the poorest blacks creates, if you will, a fund of political capital upon which all members of the group can draw when pressing racially based claims."

Racially preferential admission is also an inappropriate means of compensation for several reasons. First, our historic assimilationist national policy has been to insist upon the general irrelevancy of one's membership in a particular racial group as a basis for government action. Second, lack of qualification for a course of study can be rationally addressed only by taking steps to remove the lack, not by overlooking it and proceeding as if it did not exist. Finally, it is plainly unjust that the cost of racially preferential admissions should be largely borne by the particular individuals whom the racially preferred replace, even though they bear no particular responsibility for the disadvantage for which compensation is supposedly being made.

The newest buzzword for racial discrimination—which after more than two decades of official sanction still may not speak its proper name—is "diversity," a word that is largely replacing the term "affirmative action" (as it becomes less a euphemism than a pejorative) and providing an alternative to the remedy rationale. Just as the remedy argument uses race as a proxy for disadvantage, the diversity argument uses race as a proxy for unusual characteristics. But just as disadvantage, not race, would be the criterion if the objective were compensation, so unusual characteristics or experiences would be the criterion if the objective were educational diversity. In practice, the blacks who are preferentially admitted are frequently the children of teachers or other professionals and have a social, economic, and educational background virtually indistinguishable from that of the average middle-class white applicant. "Affirmative action" enforcers do not check schools for diversity of views or experience in the student body; they check only for the presence of blacks and—to a much lesser extent—members of other preferred groups.

The diversity argument was made popular by Justice Powell's opinion in the *Bakke* case, the Court's first decision upholding explicit discrimination against whites. Justice Powell was an inveterate seeker of the middle way, which usually meant, as in *Bakke*, evading the problem by attempting to have it both ways. For example, he found the use of racial quotas unconstitutional because it violates an excluded applicant's "right to individual consideration without regard to his race" and "involves the use of an explicit racial classification." He then, however, approved of the use of an applicant's ("minority") race as a "plus factor," even though it violates the same right and uses the same classification. Expressing views that were his alone, Powell announced that discrimination against whites is every bit as constitutionally disfavored as discrimination against

blacks, to be subjected to the strictest judicial scrutiny and permitted only when found to serve a "compelling interest" that could not be served in any other way. He then held that discrimination against whites in admission to medical school is constitutionally permissible nonetheless, because it serves the school's interest—protected by the First Amendment, he said—in a student body with a diversity of views. Powell's attempt to find a middle way between protecting and not protecting whites equally with blacks failed, but it made "diversity" a term of art and rallying cry in the fight for racially preferential admissions.

Perverse Incentives

AMONG the defects serious enough to be disqualifying of both the remedy and the diversity rationales is that they create perverse and destructive incentives. The remedy rationale requires insistence, not only upon America's racist past, but, even more important, upon the assumption that racism continues largely unabated, although, perhaps, in more subtle and less overt forms. If blacks disproportionately fail to obtain desirable positions because of a lack of the usual qualifications, then the appropriate remedy, even if the lack is due to past racial discrimination, is to attempt to upgrade their qualifications. If the failure is due to present discrimination, however, the only corrective may be racial preferences and quotas.

Proponents of "affirmative action" must, therefore, continually assert that white Americans are implacably opposed to black advance. Professor Derrick Bell of the Harvard Law School claims, for example, that if a magic pill were discovered to make blacks exceptionally law-abiding, whites would destroy it to prevent that from happening. Black crime, he tells us, is actually in the interest of whites because much of the country's economic activity—for example, the production of prison uniforms—is dependent upon it.

In fact, there is every indication that most whites are intensely interested in black progress and derive an extra measure of satisfaction from every example of black success. Basketball games and boxing matches seem only to have gained in appeal and marketability as they became increasingly dominated by blacks. The highest incomes in the entertainment industry in recent years have been earned by blacks. The only noticeable expressions of discontent with the fact that Colin Powell is the nation's highest national security officer have been by black proponents of "affirmative action."

The corollary to insistence that whites are opposed to black advance is the essential futility of hopes for progress by blacks through their own efforts. But the notion that academic success and hard work are pointless for blacks is debilitating, almost certainly the last message that it is in their interest to hear.

As the remedy rationale requires insistence on pervasive white racism, the diversity rationale requires insistence on the existence of important racial differences. Preference for blacks will not produce any significant

benefits of diversity unless there are in fact important differences between blacks and whites, and unless the preferred blacks can be relied upon to manifest them. It is thus in the interest of blacks in general—and perhaps, indeed, the duty of the preferred black in particular—to “act black” as much as possible. In the school context this usually means, unfortunately, displaying an exceptional sensitivity to possible racial slights and an ability to see malignant racism as the explanation of most historical events and social phenomena.

Other Agendas

THE DRIVE for “affirmative action” is a phenomenon in need of further and more candid explanation than it has so far received. How can adoption of a policy that is virtually a formula for escalating racial consciousness and tension be thought a desirable course of action?

A more plausible explanation for at least some of the demand for “affirmative action” is that it supports an extensive “civil rights” bureaucracy that grew up in the long fight to end racial discrimination and that is now prospering and expanding in the movement to reinstate it. Every college and school, if not every department, must now have an “affirmative action” officer and specialists in racial- and ethnic-group liaison. The more racial tension increases on campus and generally, the greater will be the need for their services.

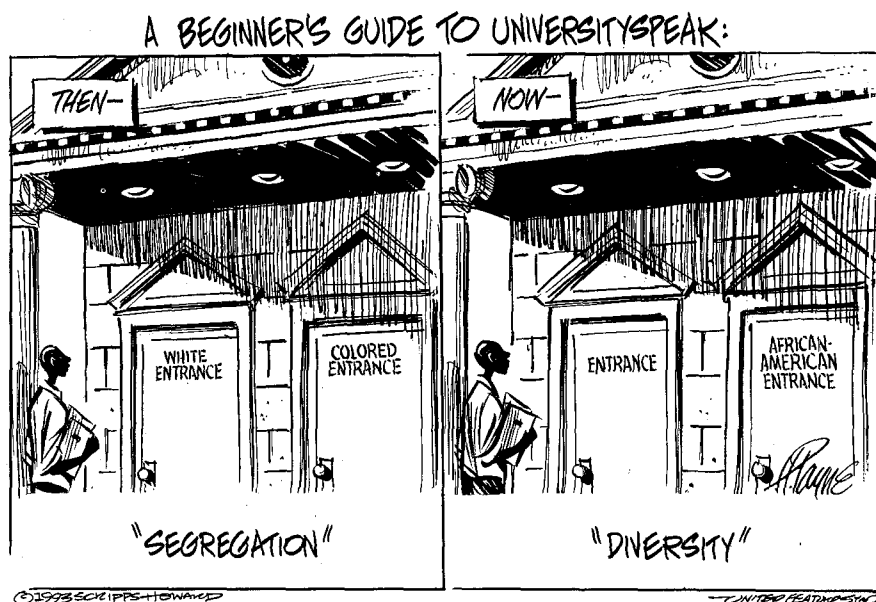
Further, it remains true that a large proportion of blacks live in the desperate social conditions of an “underclass.” It is argued by many that improvement of these conditions requires that the issue of race not be permitted to recede from public attention. “Affirmative action” serves to keep the issue very much alive.

Racial issues seem also to be for some people part of a larger agenda. There are, particularly in our colleges and universities, earnest seekers for a more just and equal society who find themselves thoroughly alienated from their present society and its institutions. The worldwide waning of the appeal of socialism has reduced the potential of economic class differences as the basis of hope for “fundamental social change.” Race and sex differences are the most likely substitutes. The pursuit of perfect economic equality, it has turned out, may not be such a good idea, but surely no one today can be so insensitive to the demands of justice as to oppose equality in terms of race and sex. Proponents of any proposal advanced in the name of increasing such equality will enjoy a huge advantage over opponents.

The most important basis for the continuing support of “affirmative action” is indicated perhaps by the argu-

ments made for it by a law professor at a major public university in two debates held about ten years apart. In the first debate, ten or twelve years ago, he supported “affirmative action” with a long list of the then standard arguments: biased tests, compensation, role models, services to deprived groups, and so on. His enthusiasm for “affirmative action” because of the many good effects he expected it to have seemed unbounded. Indeed, “affirmative action” was working so well at his school that the school had decided to drop Japanese-Americans as a specially preferred group because substantial numbers of Japanese-American applicants had been found to meet the ordinary standards. He confidently foresaw the day when the same would be true, first of Mexican-Americans and then of blacks.

In another debate about two years ago, this professor’s enthusiasm was gone and his argument much changed. He still supported “affirmative action,” but his reasons had been reduced to a single one: “We simply must have blacks in this institution.” The problem is undoubtedly a severe one: if a stable multiracial society requires that all racial groups be more or less proportionately represented in all important institutions and



activities, it requires what no multiracial society has ever achieved.

A more promising approach to social stability, surely, is to maintain a system of law, government, and public policy that uniformly insists on the total irrelevance, at least for official or public purposes, of claimed membership in any particular racial group. It may be naïve idealism to believe that racial peace can be achieved through official inculcation of the view that racial distinctions are odious and pointless, but it is at least an ideal worth pursuing. We can be certain, on the other hand, that racial peace will not be found through policies that enhance racial consciousness, presume the existence of widespread and near-ineradicable racial animosity, and insist that racial distinctions are of central importance. □



Gergen Notwithstanding

Sack the butler, can the nurse;
Do not pause to stamp and curse;
Call in every IOU;
Switch what's switchable into
Tax-exempts, and stash the rest
With the Swiss, who hide it best.

W. H. VON DREELE

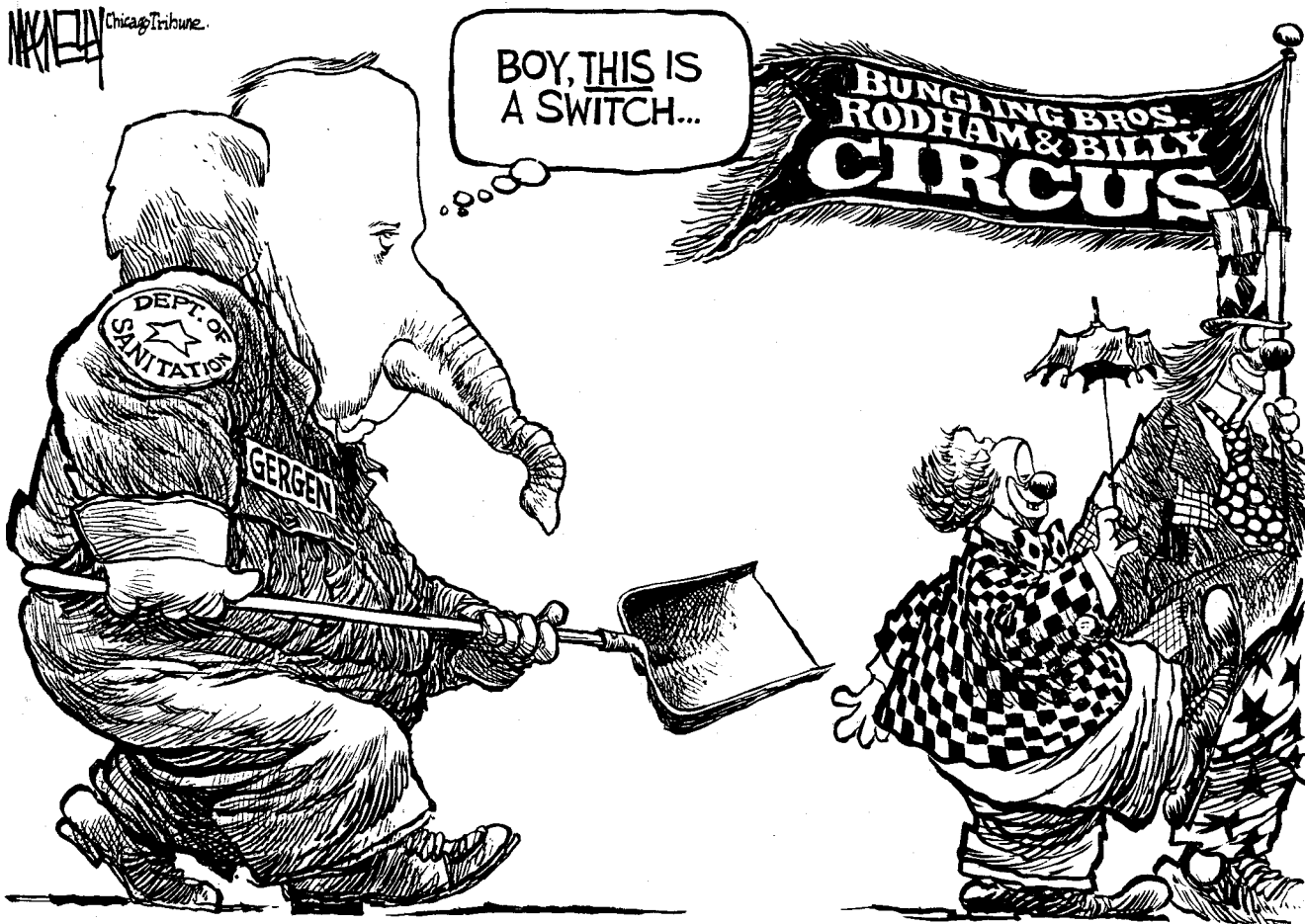


*"How come I don't have one of those outrageous salaries
the media is always carping about?"*

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In the Post-Cold War World

A GROWN-UP'S GUIDE TO NON-PROLIFERATION

Liberal arms control has leaned toward big projects like, well, abolishing war. Nice if you can do it; but the emerging threats of the post-Cold War world require a more realistic approach.

PETER W. RODMAN

FOR DECADES, the effort to halt the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction was the preserve of diplomats, academics, and others eager to do good in this world. Now it has become too important for that.

Today, in addition to the five acknowledged nuclear powers (the U.S., Russia, Britain, France, and China), three countries are believed to have either nuclear weapons or the ability to assemble them quickly (Israel, India, and Pakistan). Several others are pursuing this capability or have done so in the past, including North Korea, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Argentina, Brazil, and South Africa. Ukraine and Kazakhstan are dragging their feet on relinquishing control of the thousands of Soviet strategic weapons on their soil. In addition, as many as twenty states are believed to possess chemical weapons, and at least thirteen Third World countries are manufacturing ballistic missiles capable of delivering all of the above.

Origins of a Policy

PRESIDENT Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" program of the 1950s helped spread around the world the technical skills of harnessing nuclear energy, to promote its peaceful uses. It was one of the great blunders of the postwar period. A variety of countries, including aspiring

"middle powers," started feverishly applying their new scientific talent to less peaceful uses.

Concern over nuclear proliferation mushroomed, so to speak, in the 1960s, as China got the Bomb and France flaunted its *force de frappe*. There were fears that the number of nuclear powers would soon reach double digits. These fears were not borne out, partly because an unusual coalition of the U.S., UK, and USSR joined to contain the spread (the Soviets being as spooked by the Chinese as we were). The 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was the instrument by which they pressured smaller states to renounce nuclear arms and restricted the transfer of sensitive technologies. They strengthened the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), a UN body that helped countries develop civilian nuclear energy on condition of submitting to controls over nuclear fuels.

This liberal arms-control regime, if you will, achieved a great deal. If there were problems, they were conceptual. It was a classic example of the favorite American functional approach to political issues. Disarmament and international law have been continuing themes in America's foreign policy for the past hundred years, even in our isolationist period. This way of looking at the world is apolitical and a historical—well suited to a people who, ever since Washington's

Farewell Address, have determinedly turned their back on the sordidness of international politics. We could make the world safer without bogging down in concrete geopolitical problems.

Yet this high-minded multilateralism was often an invitation to ineffectuality. From the 1925 Geneva Protocol (forswearing first use of chemical weapons) to the 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact (outlawing war) to the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention to the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention, the functional approach has produced unverifiable declarations that are toothless against cheating—i.e., totally useless against precisely the countries against which they are needed. This is the sort of thing that gave arms control a bad name.

At its worst, this approach slid into the familiar mode of piling restraints on *American* power. In the cause of non-proliferation we blurred differences between friends and enemies, exerting our leverage on the countries on which we had such leverage—mainly our own allies. We only reluctantly concerned ourselves with the security threats they faced, which were the motivation for their interest in the Bomb in the first place.

The *reductio ad absurdum* was the arms-controllers' insistence on U.S.

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and Soviet abandonment of nuclear-weapons testing, on the basis that this self-denial would encourage Third World countries to relinquish their own nuclear ambitions. To believe this, one had to believe that if the few occasional U.S. and Soviet underground tests were stopped, Arabs and Israelis would cease to be paranoid about each other, ditto Indians and Pakistanis, and Ukrainians and Russians, and that regimes like Iraq, Iran, North Korea, and Libya would swoon in admiration. I can think of several on this list whose incentive to go nuclear would *increase* if they thought the superpowers were abandoning their superior capabilities.

Clear and Present Dangers

OF THE many countries listed at the beginning of this article as pursuing advanced weaponry, a clear and present danger comes today from a select group—North Korea, Iran, and Iraq, with a few others down the road. These are the radical “Weapon States,” which Charles Krauthammer has said “will constitute the greatest single threat to world security for the rest of our lives.” They are the reason it’s time for the grown-ups to take charge of this issue.

First, it goes without saying that we should *put teeth into existing institutions* wherever possible. The NPT comes up for review in 1995; it should be extended indefinitely. Multilateral mechanisms have done some good. The problem is that they cannot be relied upon to eliminate the big-league threats we now confront.

A second principle is to *make some distinctions between our friends and our enemies*. We can be forgiven if we panic more at the latter’s pursuit of such weapons than at the former’s. But even if we strongly prefer that our friends not escalate regional rivalries this way (and we have reason to do so), it behooves us to recognize that they pursue these options out of security concerns that must be addressed some other way if we want them to refrain. We may regret that Israel and Pakistan have progressed so far in their weapons programs, for example, but whatever restraint they *have* shown (not inconsiderable) is a function of our support for their defense.

This has obvious implications for

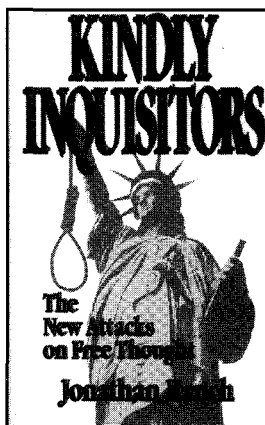
current foreign policy. Those who are eager to punish Pakistan over its nuclear program, human-rights violations, or activities in Kashmir are only fueling its doubts about our utility as an ally—thus vindicating its decision to have a unilateral option. Similarly Ukraine, which has had some sober lessons burnt into its consciousness by geography and history, is not as able to be self-denying about these things as our diplomats might like. Both Bush and Clinton have mishandled Ukraine badly. Our failure so far to offer Ukrainians any plausible alternative strategy for their security against Russia (such as some relationship with the West) has only proved to them the wisdom of holding onto the nukes.

A third principle is that we must *rid ourselves of guilt*. Many Third World countries have cried “discrimination” at the attempt to shut the door on those who were a little slow to acquire what the big powers already have. We should not fall for this: our own safety requires that we choke off the spread of these weapons. The complaint about U.S. and Russian underground nuclear tests is also ridiculous; they have

no effect on the regional rivalries that prompt proliferation.

Nor should we fall for the radical states’ demands for concessions. According to the *New York Times*, the Administration is looking for ways to “reassure North Korea,” and is “wary about leaving North Korea feeling cornered.” Now, the danger of escalation and general lunacy on the Korean peninsula is not widely thought to come from Seoul or Washington. It is *we* who should make the demands. The Bush Administration already removed U.S. nuclear weapons from South Korea in order to remove an excuse for North Korean recalcitrance. If we continue to weaken ourselves, we invite trouble instead of avoiding it.

A fourth principle is that it’s more fruitful to *concentrate diplomacy on restricting supply than on reducing demand*. The number of would-be nuclear powers is large, the number of sources of sensitive technology much smaller. The Reagan Administration formed a Missile Technology Control Regime; the “Australia Group” controls chemical exports; the Bush Administration revived the Nuclear Suppliers Group. COCOM, which used to



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—Roger Rosenblatt

“With a completeness so far unequaled, he outlines the beliefs the West has lived by for the last several hundred years. . . . Like no other, this book restates the core of our freedom and demonstrates how great, and disregarded, the peril to it has become.”

—Joseph Coates, *Chicago Tribune*

“Rauch asserts, against the growing forces of ‘sensitivity’ and other forms of intellectual authoritarianism, the principle on which intellectual freedom depends: there is nothing wrong with giving offense in pursuit of truth.”

—George F. Will

A Cato Institute book
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restrict sensitive exports to the Communist bloc, has formed a Cooperative Forum with the former Communist states to restrict exports to others. The U.S. and Japan are tightening restrictions on supercomputer exports.

This kind of targeted diplomacy has had some successes. The Argentine-Egyptian "Condor" missile program was shut down a few years ago. The Clinton Administration deserves credit for its commitment to tightening the allied technology embargo against both Iran and Iraq. China must understand that more missile and nuclear deals in the Middle East will rip apart the already precarious Sino-American relationship. (I say this as one who has long believed in this relationship—but it was founded on the premise of parallel geopolitical interests, which is thoroughly undermined by China's destabilizing conduct in a region vital to the West.)

A fifth principle is to *maintain a credible capacity to deter, pre-empt, and retaliate*. This point is made well in the new Heritage report, *A Safe and Prosperous America*. While Saddam Hussein may have been deterred from using chemical weapons against us in the Gulf War, the likes of Saddam, Muammar Qaddafi, and Kim Il Sung are likely to *remain* deterred only by the certainty that any use of unconventional weapons will bring instant catastrophe in response. Warren Christopher needs to be instructed that "retaliation" means more than holding a meeting at the UN.

Sixth is to *develop defenses against strategic and tactical ballistic missiles*.

This is an inescapable part of a grown-up counter-proliferation strategy in today's conditions.

Last but not least is the *urgent need to develop a repertoire of military options*. The only test of our policy is its result—not the diligence of our diplomatic efforts—and without a military option we are simply not serious about stopping proliferation.

This means, at the very least, having a covert capability to sabotage illicit or undesirable transactions. If we can cooperate with allied law-enforcement agencies, fine. But we must have unilateral options as well. A Swiss company suspected of selling Iran equipment for biological weapons was upset when, last year, a shipment bound for Iran was destroyed in Munich, and when, in February, a bomb blew up a cargo of containers at a warehouse. Mossad did it, say German and Swiss authorities. For shame! The shame is that *we* didn't do it.

In addition, the Pentagon should be working right now on a range of options involving special operations or air strikes, to eliminate threats like North Korea's when all other remedies have been exhausted.

The sound you hear now is of State Department lawyers gagging. But if they say it can't be done, fire them and get better lawyers. Article 51 of the UN Charter recognizes the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense. John F. Kennedy explained quite lucidly how, in the nuclear age, changes in dispositions can be as threatening to survival as any army crossing a border. Remember

his speech on October 22, 1962, during the Cuban Missile Crisis:

Neither the United States of America nor the world community of nations can tolerate deliberate deception and offensive threats on the part of any nation, large or small. We no longer live in a world where only the actual firing of weapons represents a sufficient challenge to a nation's security to constitute maximum peril. Nuclear weapons are so destructive and ballistic missiles are so swift that any substantially increased possibility of their use or any sudden change in their deployment may well be regarded as a definite threat to peace.

Justice Holmes once said that the U.S. Constitution was not a suicide pact—meaning that any interpretation of it that produced a totally destructive result was unacceptable. Eugene Rostow has said the same of the UN Charter.

If the United States doesn't want its allies indulging in self-help, as Israel did against Iraq's nuclear reactor in 1981, then we had better come up with effective measures ourselves. The IAEA has done yeoman work in hampering Iraq's nuclear program since 1991—but it gained entry only because we won a war.

The Korean Crisis

NORTH KOREA is the urgent case now. It's the crisis that ought to be happening but isn't. Pyongyang is on the verge of producing a bomb; it has threatened to renounce the NPT. The Administration has launched into an elaborate minuet of IAEA inspection requests (turned down by North Korea), IAEA reports to the Security Council (which convened a meeting), bilateral talks with North Korea (at which North Korea started making demands on *us*), and rumblings about economic sanctions to "isolate" a country that has reveled in its isolation for 45 years. If this is a way of exhausting all peaceful remedies before hitting them hard, then it's a brilliant strategy. If not, it's no policy at all.

Military options may be hard to come by. There are problems in locating key targets and in deterring a North Korean counterstrike against a South Korea denuded by years of short-sighted U.S. force reductions. But I suspect these problems could be solved if we really cared.

And care we should. A North Ko-

rean nuclear weapon will cause a strategic earthquake, forcing both South Korea and Japan to reconsider their own renunciation of nuclear weapons and the value of the U.S. security umbrella. The repercussions in both countries will be profound, especially as we regularly kick them both in the groin over trade disputes and, at the same time, announce in State Department briefings that we are withdrawing our power from the world. If we are unable or unwilling to stop a North Korean nuclear capability, what will be the credibility of the reassurances we give our allies afterward?

Iranians, Iraqis, and Libyans will be watching the outcome in Korea too.

Thus, in the final analysis, our non-

proliferation policy cannot be separated from the rest of our foreign policy. The persuasiveness of our warnings to foes and our pledges to allies depends on whether we are strong or weak, on whether we believe our cause is worth defending or we hesitate to assert our right to our own survival.

The perception of American weakness is one of the most destabilizing factors in the world today. It practically invites both friends and foes to rush to fill the vacuum by acquiring the ultimate instruments of power. The proliferation nightmare that liberals had the foresight to warn against decades ago has a high probability of coming true in the 1990s as a result of their own hesitations. □

The Clinton Rollercoaster

WET-BLANKET BOOMLET

The Clinton paradox: The worse he does, the better the economy does. And vice versa.

LAWRENCE KUDLOW

THE STRENGTH of May's employment report took almost everyone by surprise. It signals a more normal recovery pace of 200,000 jobs per month, pointing toward the creation of two and a half million new jobs this year. In fact, already this year the private economy has produced almost one million new jobs, the equivalent of more than two Clinton stimulus packages.

Added to this are strong increases in home sales and car and truck sales, and an ongoing rebound in business equipment spending. Profits are soaring, productivity is on the rise, and liquidity is plentiful. All in all, the economy is much stronger than people think, driven by the private sector.

This is why the Clinton program is the wrong prescription, resulting from

a misunderstanding of how the economy actually works. The punishment simply doesn't fit the crime. If Congress passes the Administration's high-tax and high-spending fiscal plan, especially its harsh income- and energy-tax increases, then the economic recovery will be stifled. The wet-blanket effect will hit hardest in 1995 and 1996.

No one in Washington wants to face the unpleasant fact that a 17 per cent rollback of after-tax incentives on those with the highest propensity to save and invest will create a substantial braking effect on the economy. Indeed, Americans are facing the largest income-tax hike since World War II, reversing a more than forty-year trend toward lower statutory tax rates. What's more, by raising the cost of living and reducing the availability of goods, Clinton's plan will add a strong dose of fiscal inflation.

This is what happens when the top marginal income-tax rate is raised from 31 per cent to 43 per cent: instead of taking home 69 cents on the added dollar earned from saving, investing, or working, the upper-income economic activists will garner only 57 cents. And remember that 52 per cent of American business—small, often family-owned businesses, partnerships, proprietorships, and subchapter S companies—also will be soaked by the higher tax rate. And for people who live in the largest ten or so cities, with state and local income-tax rates averaging 5 to 8 per cent, the top marginal rate will run upward to or even above 50 per cent.

What's more, this new tax burden is even more onerous today than equivalent percentages were 12 or 15 years ago, since nearly all of the old deductions and exemptions have been eliminated. Remember the legislative compact between Congress and the taxpayers which passed in 1986? This deal lowered income-tax rates in return for the elimination of most of the old so-called loopholes.

So, the loopholes are still gone, but the tax rates are heading north once again. This is the sort of thing that passes for fairness in today's Washington. Of course, members of Congress, the Administration, and the media keep telling us that higher tax burdens are necessary for deficit reduction. And they keep telling us that this is the first time we've really had a major-league deficit-reduction effort. What about the deal to end all deals in 1990? Or the deal in 1989? Or 1987? Or 1982? You get the message.

Added Penalties

ADDING to the penalties from higher income-tax rates, Washington will be raising the tax burden on Social Security recipients, hiking the alternative minimum tax, and reducing the inheritance-tax deduction. Senator David Boren will most certainly not get his proposal for an indexed capital-gains tax rate. Nor will this Congress and President accede to enforceable budget caps on discretionary or entitlement spending.

In round numbers, all of this will constitute at least a 20 per cent economy-wide tax increase, which will reduce the nation's potential to grow by

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a similar amount, probably costing \$600 to \$800 billion in lost output, and roughly 4 million lost jobs, by the late 1990s. And that lost output might translate into something like \$200 billion in forgone revenues which, not surprisingly, will result in higher, not lower deficits. By the way, a 20 per cent takedown of future output and, probably, of corporate earnings is bound to cause a similar 20 per cent depreciation of the value of our aggregate net worth and assets, as reflected in lower stock-market prices.

The Wet-Blanket Effect

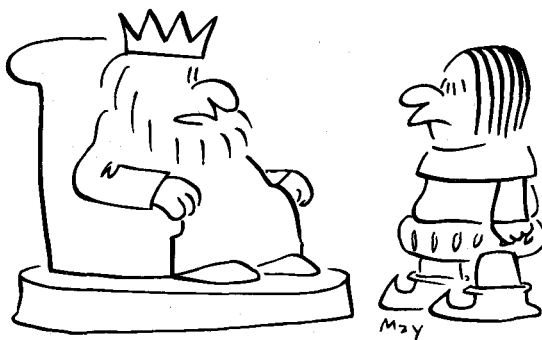
ALL OF THIS duly said and calculated, the key economic point is still to take things one step at a time. The wet-blanket effect is not likely to kick in for about a year. Senators Boren and Nunn are insisting on a July 1, 1993, effective tax implementation date. This would suggest that we keep most of our money this year, we keep about half of our money next year, but they get all our money in 1995.

So, in terms of the present, it's important to keep in mind two large doses of economic stimulus now working through the system. First, corporate profits have recovered by \$90 billion. And this recovery must be added to the flood of new equity capital offerings and debt refinancing of the past two years. From this one might expect a solid business expansion, and that is exactly what is happening, as indicated by the 16 per cent increase in spending for business equipment over the past year. Additionally, profit margins have increased substantially in key sectors such as autos, coal, construction, gold mining, semiconductors, and housewares.

Second, the Federal Reserve has been supplying high-powered bank reserves at a double-digit rate. Taking the Fed balance-sheet item "Reserve bank credit" as an example, this measure is rising at a \$38- to \$40-billion annual rate, or roughly 12.5 per cent growth. This excessive pace of dollar creation is the principal reason for the recent \$50 jump in gold prices to \$375 an ounce. Accordingly, short-term interest rates have been pushed down to thirty-year lows, and the yield-curve

spread between Treasury bills and Treasury bonds is a gargantuan 375 basis points. What's more, measured against the Japanese yen, the least inflationary paper currency over the past five- and ten-year periods, the dollar has lost 14 per cent this year.

We may hope that the Fed will soon begin to lower the volume of excess reserves, thus cutting the gold rally and inflation expectations off at the knees. But this may not be so easy in the middle of a national debate over the budget and tax reconciliation bill moving through Congress. Also, since Mr. Greenspan told the New York Economics Club a month ago that the Fed is no longer targeting M2, there has been no formal announcement of which new policy variable will serve as its central target mechanism to achieve long-run price stability.



"I want you to devalue the currency, but make it look like an accident."

As Fed board member Wayne Angell persistently argues, gold and other financial or commodity-market prices are the best predictors of future inflation. With gold on the rise, a very wide yield curve, a weak dollar, and double-digit dollar creation, the Fed should be raising short-term rates by at least one full percentage point. Treasury-bill rates have already jumped about 50 basis points, pointing the way. But is the Fed watching? Or, what exactly is the Fed watching?

Paradoxically, the rise in short rates itself would stimulate the economy. People who have deferred spending decisions in the hope of capturing even lower future financing costs will reverse field and accelerate their buying if they begin to expect a new trend toward higher interest rates. This is the same intertemporal substitution effect as in the case of expectations of higher future tax rates. Which, incidentally, is a process now probably getting

under way ahead of next year's expected tax hikes.

All told, these factors will generate a stronger economic growth rate over the next four quarters than almost anyone now thinks possible. To be sure, Clinton's policies will guarantee that this boomlet will be short-lived. But the excessive money creation from the Fed could raise the growth of nominal GDP to nearly 8 per cent. The expansion of corporate profits could lead to 4 per cent growth in real GDP. And the devaluation of the dollar in terms of gold and the yen suggests a domestic inflation rate of roughly 4 per cent.

The stock market has not yet factored in these possible outcomes, nor has it yet included the possibility of a spike in short-term interest rates. Ironically, the likely passage of 70 to 80 per cent of Mr. Clinton's fiscal plan, and the hiring of David Gergen as major domo, counselor, and de facto Chief of Staff, strongly suggests that Mr. Clinton's own stock may well be reaching bottom.

Gergen is arguably the best Washington spin doctor of the last twenty years. But it was Gergen, as George Bush's 1980 campaign manager, who coined the phrase "voodoo economics." Moreover, Gergen was an opponent of the Kemp-Roth income-tax cuts, so he can be expected to support this year's proposed income-tax hikes.

Undoubtedly he will work hard to recreate the perception of Clinton as a new, moderate Democrat, and he will trumpet the passage of the fiscal plan as a great victory for the country and the Presidency.

Against this political backdrop, a surging 1993 economy will undoubtedly improve Clinton's standing. His stock has dropped from 70 per cent approval to 35 per cent. But as Gergen well knows, an investment now could yield at least a temporary capital gain later. Perversely, while Clinton's stock is likely to rise, the actual stock market can be expected to fall. Up to now, the stock market has gone up while Clinton's stock has gone down. The inverse relationship is unmistakable. A successful selling of Mr. Clinton's economics this year spells big trouble for the nation's economy after that. The 1993-94 boomlet will give way to stagflation in 1995-96. That's the trouble with good spin doctors. And bad economic policy. □

IS THERE A DOCTOR IN THE HOUSE?

The EC's fantasies of superpowerdom have had consequences that are all too real.

NOEL MALCOLM

DOCTORS and psychiatrists will be familiar with Münchausen's Syndrome, a condition—named after the eighteenth-century German equivalent of Walter Mitty—in which the patient invents a complex medical history full of life-threatening diseases in order to gain attention. A less common variant of this mental illness is known as Mün-

chausen's Syndrome by Proxy. Here the patient's fantasies are projected onto someone else: typically, a mother will invent illnesses for her child in order to gain not only attention, but also admiration for having saved the child's life. In some cases the mother may cause real harm to the child in order to make the symptoms look more convincing—like those firemen who become secret arsonists in order to have more opportunities to display their heroism.

Mr. Malcolm is a political columnist for the London Daily Telegraph.

Something curiously similar has been happening in the foreign ministries of Europe over the last two years. The fantasy here is that Europe (or at least, that group of 12 countries which has appropriated the name of the whole continent) can act on the world stage as a single force with superpower potential, shouldering the burden of responsibility which superpower status entails. And the suffering children onto which this fantasy has been projected are the infant states of ex-Yugoslavia.

That these states had life-threatening illnesses in the first place goes without saying: but their sufferings have been made much, much worse by the determination of EC politicians to show that this was a crisis which only they could solve. "This is the hour of Europe!" cried M. Jacques Poos, the foreign minister of Luxembourg, when the fighting broke out two years ago this month. There was a kind of manic exhilaration in that remark, and also a disturbing degree of possessiveness: the warning signs were there. Unfortunately the international community is not yet empowered to bring foreign ministers in for psychiatric treatment.

The fantasy of the single European

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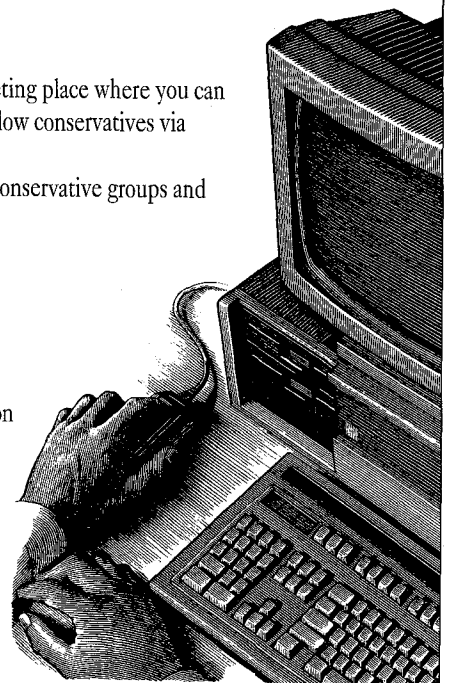
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foreign policy goes back a long way. Although most of the founding fathers of the European Community wanted their creation to develop into a federal state eventually, they did not dare include such openly political aims in the original Treaty of Rome. But during the 1970s the first tentative steps were taken, when the member states began co-ordinating their stances on foreign affairs. The first large-scale revision of the Treaty of Rome (the Single European Act of 1986) set up "a European foreign policy" as an official goal of the European Community. And at Maastricht five years later, the heads of government included in their list of "objectives" the following grand design: "to assert its identity on the international scene, in particular through the implementation of a common foreign and security policy including the eventual framing of a common defense policy, which might in time lead to a common defense."

The omens for united European action all looked good to begin with. The ending of the Cold War seemed to remove most of the old disagreements between European doves and hawks. No longer would countries argue over whether or not to station cruise missiles; no longer would German policy be skewed by the obsession with East Germany, or Greek policy be that of a quasi-satellite of the Kremlin. On the other hand it was widely believed that the shambles of European "cooperation" in the Gulf War (when Britain and France had had to act independently of the EC, and Belgium had even refused to sell ammunition to the British army) had taught everyone a lesson. "Never again" was the refrain at the end of that dismal experience. Henceforth, to use the buzz-phrase, Europe would act "as one."

Bursting the Bubble

AND THEN came Yugoslavia. The six-month rotating presidency of the EC had just passed to Luxembourg in the summer of 1991: and so it was the ineffable M. Poos whose duty and privilege it was to speak for Europe. Forming a "troika" with the Dutch and Italian foreign ministers, he shuttled between Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana, as-

suring the local population: "This is a European problem. We shall find a European solution." For a while, the fantasy was shared. The Croats were flattered that such important people were busying themselves with their affairs, and the Slovenes did not even seem to mind when the foreign minister of Luxembourg (a country smaller than Rhode Island, with a total population well below that of Nashville, Tennessee) informed them that Slovenia was "too small" to be a viable state. Only gradually, as they learned that the EC's decisive response consisted mainly of sending in small numbers of white-coated observers (known as "ice-cream men" to the locals), did the Croats and Slovenes begin to feel about M. Poos the way one does when



realizing that the man one has let into one's home is not, as he claims, a special representative of the Pope or a talent-spotter for MGM, but a dangerously unstable fantasist.

The instability was in the EC's policies themselves. On the one hand there was the inbuilt tendency of a multinational federation-in-the-making to assume that multinational federal states are a Good Thing. This coincided with the natural fear that any break-up of Yugoslavia might be regarded as a precedent for the meltdown of the Soviet Union. The EC had sent strong signals to Belgrade in the months before the Croatian and Slovenian declarations of independence (that is, the months *after* the people of those republics had approved independence by overwhelming votes) saying that it would not accept the break-up of Yugoslavia. One EC Commissioner, Mr. Abel Matutes, even said in public that the EC would "refuse all high-level contacts" with any

breakaway republic. This had the effect of assuring the Serbs that they could respond to the declarations of independence with military attacks on Slovenia and Croatia, so long as they dressed up those attacks as defenses of the integrity of the Yugoslav federal state.

On the other hand, political pressures built up very quickly in Germany and Italy in favor of accepting the independence of these new republics. Those two EC countries had Christian Democratic governments, with either a special sympathy for Catholicism, or a tendency to aim for a "moral" foreign policy, or both. The Germans calculated (correctly) that the rationale of the Serbian military campaign would be weakened if Croatia were properly recognized as an independent state. After months of argument in the councils of the EC, the Germans finally got an agreement on this policy at the end of 1991, and recognition was granted in January 1992. Meanwhile, EC diplomats had enthusiastically supported the UN Security Council's decision, in September 1991, to impose an arms embargo on the entire Yugoslav territory. This decision fatally undermined the German policy: it ensured that former republics of Yugoslavia would be denied one of the most essential rights for any independent state—the right of self-defense.

Around the German drive for recognition, two myths have grown up. One is that the entire break-up of Yugoslavia was masterminded from the beginning by Bonn, as part of a devilish plan to acquire a Fourth Reich of client states in Eastern Europe. This theory is believed mainly in Belgrade. Like most conspiracy theories, it is hardly susceptible of disproof; all one can say is that if the Germans had really been planning the operation, they would have made a much better job of it.

But the other myth is believed by many serious politicians in the rest of Europe: it is that the "premature" recognition of Croatia caused the outbreak of war in Bosnia in April 1992. It is true that Bosnia could not stay in a rump Yugoslavia dominated by Serbia, and that it therefore needed to declare its own independence. It is also true that Western recognition of Bos-

nian independence provided the Serbs with a convenient pretext for their military coup. But the overwhelming untruth rests in the assumption that the Serbs would never have attempted to carve up Bosnia if international recognition had not driven them to do so. The carve-up had begun more than six months earlier, when the Serbs had declared that large areas of Bosnia were "Serb Autonomous Regions." From the summer of 1991, Belgrade had been secretly arming the Bosnian Serbs and arranging for the Federal Army to take over the arms supplies of the local defense forces. The Serb military takeover would have happened anyway—unless it had been properly deterred. The EC's mistake was not that it encouraged the recognition of Bosnia, but that, while maintaining an arms embargo which would render the Bosnian government unable to resist a Serb takeover, it failed to attach any security guarantees of its own to make the Serbs reconsider their plans.

Calling Their Bluff

HERE ONE reaches the nub of the problem. You cannot make any security guarantees unless you can make people believe that you are prepared to commit troops. The EC does not and cannot have a single defense policy, for the simple reason that it does not have a single army. And in circumstances such as the Yugoslav crisis, a foreign policy without a defense policy is like a gun without ammunition—it is effective only until the moment when your opponent realizes that you are bluffing. The Maastricht Treaty contains some vague references to the Western European Union (WEU). This nebulous defense grouping, hitherto little more than a committee, is traditionally described as the "European pillar of NATO"; but it is a pillar which could not possibly stand on its own. Only with a massive increase in European defense spending covering those things for which NATO is dependent on America (logistical support, satellites, and perhaps a few more aircraft carriers as well), could the WEU begin to function properly by itself. And yet the transformation of this grouping into a full-scale European defense force is one of the long-term aims of the EC.

No country is more hostile to this

project than Britain, traditionally the most Atlanticist of NATO's European members. In its latest official policy statement on defense, the British government poured scorn on the idea. "Building totally distinct Western European defense entities," it said, "would be disruptive of NATO. To follow this route would be to invite confusion." And yet that is precisely what France, Germany, and the Benelux countries are proposing. In September 1991, during a lull in the fighting in Croatia, France suggested sending a WEU force of 50,000 soldiers to enforce a ceasefire. The idea was seized on by the integrationists in the EC, who saw it as the first step toward the establishment of a European army. The British, seeing it in the same light, became alarmed and vetoed it accordingly. From now on the paralysis of the EC was assured. Henceforth, it would pretend that it could adopt a single foreign policy on Yugoslavia, while knowing that it could not back it up with a single defense policy because of genuine and deep-rooted disagreements about what the EC was or should be.

The rest is history. Having reduced itself to paralysis, the EC could only sit back and hope that something would result from the two forms of diplomatic pressure for which it was co-responsible, the arms embargo and the Vance-Owen "peace process." Something did indeed result from each of those measures: war. Bosnia has undergone two wars in the last 14 months. The first was the Milosevic-Karadzic war, an insurrection *cum* invasion which was hugely helped by the fact that the Bosnian government was prevented from acquiring arms to defend itself. And the second was the Vance-Owen war, a territorial war between Croats and Muslims stirred up by the proposed territorial divisions of the Vance-Owen plan.

The first war (which still continues) made it painfully obvious that the arms embargo was unjustly one-sided in its effects; yet the EC countries continued to place their trust in this policy. When the second war started in early 1993, they seized on the Croat-Muslim fighting as convenient proof that the arms embargo was right: it showed, they said, that the whole Bosnian conflict was just a messy civil war in which all sides were equally to blame. Never mind that the Croats

and Muslims had been allies until the EC-UN "peace proposals" set them at each other's throats.

Maximal Compromise

THE EC supports the arms embargo mainly because it is the lowest common denominator. It offers minimal action, and maximal compromise between the views of countries ranging from Germany (which favors active intervention, so long as German troops are not involved) to Greece (which is a virtual ally of Serbia). To lift the arms embargo would also remove the last pretense that there has been an effective EC policy on ex-Yugoslavia, and would concede in effect that things would have been better if the EC had not tried to do anything at all. But even these reasons do not fully explain the animus with which EC politicians have reacted to the proposal to lift the embargo, when that proposal has come from America. That America, after all these months, should step in and suggest correcting the Europeans' mistakes is an intolerable blow to European pride. The whole fantasy of European superpower status is at risk.

On July 2, 1991, a few days after the first shots had been fired in the Yugoslav war, Jacques Delors (President of the European Commission) made the following statement: "We do not interfere in American affairs. We hope they will have enough respect not to interfere in ours." Only someone as blinkered as a French Socialist intellectual could have produced a remark of such breathtaking arrogance, blithely ignoring the role of American troops in Europe in two world wars and 45 years of NATO-protected peace. And yet, in a way, M. Delors was speaking for the new Europe—a Europe of fantasy, bluff and self-delusion. Medical experts may be divided on the questions of whether and how to tell a fantasist that his beliefs are false; but there can be little doubt that Europe would benefit in the long run if the Americans called its bluff and forced through their own policy on Bosnia (always assuming that the policy they chose is a responsible one). Had they done so sooner, the benefit might also have been felt by tens of thousands of Bosnians who would still be alive today. □

THE LESSONS OF TEXAS

The Hutchison victory will have many good effects—not least the overturning of the Wofford Precedent.

GROVER NORQUIST

WHEN Kay Bailey Hutchison defeated Bob Krueger by a 68 to 32 per cent landslide, she brought Republican Leader Bob Dole's count in the Senate up to 44, strengthening Dole's hand for potential filibusters and probably dooming much bad legislation, starting with the striker replacement bill.

Even more important, Mrs. Hutchison must appear as the Ghost of Elections Future to the 21 Democratic senators up for re-election in 1994. Her victory offers six important lessons.

First, *the imminent and inevitable bloodbath between economic and social conservatives is neither imminent nor inevitable.* Kay Hutchison was not the first choice of most pro-life and pro-family activists in the May 1 Republican primary. They had worked and voted for either Jack Fields or Joe Barton. But once Mrs. Hutchison was the Republican candidate, facing a Democrat who had endorsed the radical Freedom of Choice Act (FOCA) that would forbid the states to limit abortion in any way, the battle lines were drawn. Mrs. Hutchison's commitment to vote against FOCA made her, by comparison, the pro-life candidate.

Kay Hutchison, recognizing this, treated the social concerns of pro-family groups with respect—as did Georgia Republican candidate (now Senator) Paul Coverdell last fall. Her campaign policy paper, "Putting Families First," addressed concerns that Phyllis Schlafly and the Christian Coalition have stressed: "Many spouses have entered the work force not be-

cause they want to, but because they have to. One of the reasons: the federal tax burden on married couples and families has grown from 2 per cent in 1948 to 24 per cent today." She called for establishing a non-refundable, \$1,000 tax credit for each child under age ten.

Second, *a Republican who campaigns against tax hikes, for spending restraints, and against the Washington Establishment leaves no room on the political stage for Ross Perot.* In the most important political campaign in 1993, in his home state, Ross the Boss was simply irrelevant. His organization, United We Stand-Texas, polled its membership and impotently announced four days before the election that 84 per cent were supporting Mrs. Hutchison. George Bush failed to run credibly against taxes and higher

spending (having raised each) and refused to campaign against Washington and Congress (he sought to run the Establishment, not to crush it). Bush's campaign left an opening for Perot. Kay Hutchison's did not.

She campaigned for term limits, elimination of congressional perks, a balanced-budget amendment, and a line-item veto. She didn't have to ask for Perot's support.

Third, *running against Clinton trumps running away from Clinton.* Mrs. Hutchison ran hard against the BTU tax, the Clinton tax package, the spending increases, and the "stimulus package." Krueger has occasionally voted against the President, but not when it really mattered. Every congressman and senator who voted for either the "stimulus package" or the reconciliation bill—and that is almost every Democrat—should read Mrs. Hutchison's literature and view her ads tearing Krueger apart. You may be sure that their challengers will.

Fourth, *health care is no Democratic silver bullet.* It was supposedly this issue alone that gave Harris Wofford his victory over Richard Thornburgh in Pennsylvania in 1991. This time, as Krueger sagged in the polls, Clinton sent his campaign maestro Paul Begala to activate the Wofford precedent. Kay Hutchison refused to duck the issue, and she showed how Republicans can leave Hillary Clinton's allies defending a liability. "One of the clear differences between our philosophies is over health care," Mrs. Hutchison said. "My health care plan empowers



Mr. Norquist is the president of Americans for Tax Reform.

people while Bob Krueger's wants to empower government. Bob Krueger's 'plan' consists of price controls, which will create health-care shortages." Mrs. Hutchison urged moving toward allowing individuals to carry their health plans—including medical IRAs—with them rather than having them tied to employers. The key mechanism she cited to achieve this "portability" and cover low-income workers is the Heritage Foundation's refundable-tax-credit proposal. Tested in battle, Hillary Clinton's big gun didn't fire.

Fifth, *Republicans do not need to follow the Democrats in balkanizing the electorate*. Democrats, who hoped Hispanics could be seduced into dependency and therefore political dependability, were shamed by a Hutchison campaign that asked for Hispanics' votes on the basis of their being Americans. Mrs. Hutchison campaigned throughout Texas for a 2 per cent limitation on the growth of government spending, using the slogan, "Government runs a deficit because it spends too much, not because it taxes too lit-

tle." She won South Texas 60 to 40 and may have carried the Hispanic vote.

Last, *don't underestimate the importance of organization and party building*. Karl Rove, Kay Hutchison's lead strategist, points out that the Democrats ran their most expensive and intensive get-out-the-vote effort—and so did the Republicans. In the last days, the Republicans made 1.4 million phone calls and 2.4 million mailings to get their voters to the polls. An unprecedented effort of local activists led to over 230 of 254 counties being organized. In Smith County, for example, local activists A. W. "Dub" Riter and Gene Shull organized 600 community leaders, made 10,000 phone calls, walked the 12 best precincts, and raised \$43,000.

Bill Clinton should not panic over short-term poll results. These numbers change daily. Democrats in the House or Senate up for re-election in 1994, however, should look closely at the Hutchison campaign. *There is real cause for panic.* □

The Politics of Homosexuality

THE CLOSET STRAIGHT

When Andrew Sullivan pleads for gay marriage, has he thought about what marriage is?

HADLEY ARKES

JOHN Courtney Murray once observed that the atheist and the theist essentially agree in their understanding of the problem: The atheist does not mean to reject the existence of God only in Staten Island; he means to reject God universally, as a necessary truth. He accepts the same framework of reference, and he makes the same move to a transcendent standard of judgment. In a thoughtful, extended essay, Andrew Sullivan, the young, gay editor of *The New Republic*, has made a comparable concession for the advocate of "gay rights" ["The Politics of Homosexuality," *New Republic*, May 10]. For Sullivan has put into place, as the very

ground and framework of his argument, a structure of understanding that must call into question any claims for the homosexual life as a rival good.

"The Politics of Homosexuality" confirms, at length, what anyone who has been with Andrew Sullivan can grasp within five minutes: he regards his erotic life as the center of his being, but he also conveys the most powerful need to seek that erotic fulfillment within a framework of domesticity, of the normal and the *natural*. The most persisting thread of anguish in the essay is the pain of awareness and reconciliation in his own family, with the recurring memory of his father weep-

ing when Andrew declared, as he says, his sexuality. Sullivan reserves some of his most stinging words for the producers of a "queer" politics, aimed at "cultural subversion." That brand of politics would simply confirm the strangeness of homosexuals, and deepen the separation from their families. Ironically, says Sullivan, "queer" politics "broke off dialogue with the heterosexual families whose cooperation is needed in every generation, if gay children are to be accorded a modicum of dignity and hope."

The delicacy barely conceals: that "cooperation is needed in every generation" precisely because "homosexual families" cannot produce "gay children." Gay children must come into being through the only kind of family that nature knows. Those who wish to preserve, say, a Jewish people, know that Jews need to reproduce and raise their children as Jews. But what would be the comparable path of obligation for the person who is committed to the preservation of a "gay community"? Sullivan is convinced that there is something in our biology or chemistry that "determines" our sexuality, and in that case, the tendency to gay sex may be passed along to the next generation, as readily as temperament and allergies. The person who wishes to preserve, for the next generation, a gay community may be tempted then to render the ultimate service: For the good of the cause, he may cross the line and enter another domain of sex. But in crossing that line, he makes a decisive concession: implicitly, but unmistakably, he is compelled to acknowledge that homosexuality cannot even pretend to stand on the same plane as the way of life it would displace. We do not really find two kinds of "families" carrying out transactions with one another. But rather, we come to recognize again the primacy of "sexuality" in the strictest sense, the only sexuality that can produce "another generation."

It is evidently important to Sullivan to insist that homosexuality is rooted in "nature," that it is determined for many people by something in their makeup quite beyond their control. He would wish to draw to his side a cer-

Mr. Arkes is the Edward Ney Professor of Jurisprudence and American Institutions at Amherst College. His most recent book is Beyond the Constitution.

tain strand of natural law to suggest that anything so rooted in nature cannot be wrong. And yet, he falls there into an ancient mistake. As the great expounders of natural law explained, we do not make our way to the "natural" simply by generalizing upon the mixed record of our species: by that reckoning, incest and genocide would be in accord with natural law, since they seem to form an intractable part of the human experience. And even if we could show, say, that some of us carried a gene for "arson," that would not settle the moral question on arson. We might not be as quick to blame the bearers of these genes, but we would expect them to exert more self-control, and we would hardly waive our moral reservations about arson.

In a passage of searing candor, Sullivan acknowledges that discrimination has not affected gays with the same kinds of deprivations that have been visited upon blacks. "[G]ay men and lesbians suffer no discernible communal economic deprivation and already operate at the highest levels of society." But when they call to their aid the levers of the law, they cultivate the sense of themselves as vulnerable and weak, in need of protection, and they perpetuate, among gays, the tendencies to self-doubt. They suggest that the things most needful to gays are in the hands of other people to confer. In the sweep of his own conviction, Sullivan would soar past those demands altogether. He would stop demanding laws, which confer, upon straight people, the franchise of confirming, or discounting, the worth of gays.

Love and Marriage

EXCEPT for one, notable thing. What Andrew Sullivan wants, most of all, is marriage. And he wants it for reasons that could not have been stated more powerfully by any heterosexual who had been raised, as Sullivan was, in the Catholic tradition and schooled in political philosophy. "[T]he apex of emotional life," says Sullivan, "is found in the marital bond." The erotic interest may seek out copulation, but the fulfillment of eros depends on the integrity of a bond woven of sentiment and confirmed by law. Marriage is more than a private

contract; it is "the highest public recognition of our personal integrity." Its equivalent will not be supplied by a string of sensual nights, accumulated over many years of "living together." The very existence of marriage "premises the core of our emotional development. It is the architectonic institution that frames our emotional life."

No one could doubt for a moment: as much as any of the "guys" in the Damon Runyon stories, the man who wrote those lines is headed, irresistibly, for marriage. What he craves—homosexual marriage—would indeed require the approval conferred by law. It would also require a benediction conferred by straight people, who would have to consent to that vast, new modeling of our laws. That project will not



be undertaken readily, and it may not be undertaken at all. Still, there is something, rooted in the nature of Andrew Sullivan, that must needs marriage.

But as Mona Charen pointed out, in an encounter with Sullivan at the National Review Institute conference this winter [NR, March 29], it is not marriage that domesticates men; it is women. Left to themselves, these forked creatures follow a way of life that George Gilder once recounted in its precise, chilling measures: bachelors were 22 times more likely than married men to be committed to hospitals for mental disease (and 10 times more likely to suffer chronic diseases of all kinds). Single men had nearly double the mortality rate of married men and 3 times the mortality rate of single women. Divorced men were 3 times more likely than divorced women to commit suicide or die by murder, and they were 6 times more likely to die of heart disease.

We have ample reason by now to doubt that the bipeds described in these figures are likely to be tamed to a sudden civility if they are merely arranged, in sets of two or three, in the same house. I had the chance to see my own younger son, settled with three of his closest friends in a townhouse in Georgetown during his college years. The labors of the kitchen and the household were divided with a concern for domestic order, and the abrasions of living together were softened by the ties of friendship. And yet, no one, entering that house, could doubt for a moment that he was in a camp occupied for a while by young males, with their hormones flowing.

This is not to deny, of course, that men may truly love men, or commit themselves to a life of steady friendship. But many of us have continued to wonder just why any of these relations would be enhanced in any way by adding to them the ingredients of penetration—or marriage. The purpose of this alliance, after all, could not be the generation of children, and a marriage would not be needed then as the stable framework for welcoming and sheltering children. For gays, the ceremony of marriage could have the function of proclaiming to the world an exclusive love, a special dedication, which comes

along with a solemn promise to forgo all other, competing loves. In short, it would draw its power from the romance of monogamy. But is that the vision that drives the movement for "gay rights"? An excruciating yearning for monogamy?

That may indeed be Andrew Sullivan's own yearning, but his position is already marking him as a curious figure in the camp of gay activists. When Sullivan commends the ideal of marriage for gays, he would seem to be pleading merely for the inclusion of gay "couples" in an institution that is indeed confined to pairs, of *adults*, in monogamous unions. But that is not exactly the vision of gay sex.

For many activists and connoisseurs, Sullivan would represent a rather wimpish, constricted view of the world they would open to themselves through sexual liberation. After all, the permissions for this new sexual freedom have been cast to that amorphous formula of "sexual orienta-

tion": the demand of gay rights is that we should recede from casting moral judgments on the way that people find their pleasure in engagements they regard as "sexual." In its strange abstraction, "sexual orientation" could take in sex with animals or the steamier versions of sado-masochism. The devotees of S&M were much in evidence during the recent march in Washington, but we may put aside for a moment these interests, to consider others which are even more exotic yet. There is, for example, the North American Man-Boy Love Association, a contingent of gay activists who identify themselves, unashamedly, as pedophiles. They insist that nothing in their "sexual orientation" should disqualify them to work as professional counselors, say, in the schools of New York, and to counsel young boys. And since they respect themselves, they will not hold back from commending their own way of life to their young charges. If there is to be gay marriage, would it be confined then only to adults? And if men are inclined to a life of multiple partners, why should marriage be confined to two persons? Why indeed should the notion of gay marriage be scaled down to fit the notions held by Andrew Sullivan?

Sullivan's Dilemma

THE SOURCES of anguish run even deeper here than Sullivan may suspect, for his dilemma may be crystallized in this way: If he would preserve the traditional understanding of marriage and monogamy, he would not speak for much of a constituency among gays. But if the notion of "marriage" were enlarged and redefined—if it could take in a plurality of people and shifting combinations—it could hardly be the kind of marriage that Sullivan devoutly wishes as "the apex of emotional life" and "the highest public recognition of our personal integrity."

In traditional marriage, the understanding of monogamy was originally tied to the "natural teleology" of the body—to the recognition that only two people, no more and no fewer, can generate children. To that understanding of a union, or a "marriage," the alliance of two men would offer such an implausible want of resemblance that it would appear almost as a mocking burlesque. It would be rather like

confounding, as Lincoln used to say, a "horse chestnut" and a "chestnut horse." The mockery would be avoided if the notion of marriage could be opened, or broadened, to accommodate the varieties of sexual experience. The most notable accommodation would be the acceptance of several partners, and the change could be readily reckoned precisely because it would hardly be novel: the proposal for gay marriage would compel us to look again—to look anew with eyes unclouded by prejudice—to the ancient appeal of polygamy. After all, there would be an Equal Protection problem now: we could scarcely confine this new "marital" arrangement only to members of one gender. But then, once the arrangement is opened simply to "consenting adults," on what ground would we object to the mature couplings of aunts and nephews, or even fathers and daughters—couplings that show a remarkable persistence in our own age, even against the barriers of law and sentiment that have been cast up over centuries? All kinds of questions, once placed in a merciful repose, may reasonably be opened again. They become live issues once we are willing to ponder that simple question, Why should marriage be confined, after all, to couples, and to pairs drawn from different sexes?

That question, if it comes to be treated as open and problematic, will not readily be closed, or not at least on the terms that Andrew Sullivan seeks. The melancholy news then is this: We cannot deliver to him what he wants without introducing, into our laws, notions that must surely undercut the rationale and the justification for marriage. The marriage that he wants, he cannot practicably have; but in seeking it, he runs the risk of weakening even further the opinion that sustains marriage as "the architectural institution that frames our emotional life."

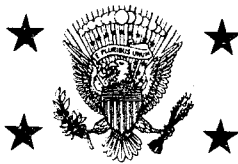
But for marriage so understood, Sullivan does not seem to command a large following, or even a substantial interest, among gays. New York City must surely contain one of the largest concentrations of accomplished, successful gay men. Since March, New York has allowed the registering of "domestic partners," and by the 1st of June, 822 couples had come forth to register. By the unofficial estimate of people in the bureau, those couples

have been just about evenly distributed between gays and lesbians. Four hundred gay couples would not be a trivial number, but in a city like New York, it does rather suggest that the craving for this public recognition may not be widely diffused. If all of the couples registered under the new law were collected in Yankee Stadium, they would hardly be noticeable in the crowd. Their numbers would not exactly suggest that there is a strong political constituency out there for gay marriage.

Unintended Consequence

IN MAKING then his own, heartfelt case for marriage, Andrew Sullivan is swept well past the interests and enthusiasms that mark most other people who now make up the "gay community." And he may earnestly put this question to himself: In the sweep of his own convictions, in the sentiment that draws him, powerfully, to marriage, has he not in fact swept past, and discarded, the rationales that sustain the homosexual life?

What comes through the writing, finally, is a man who finds his eros in domesticity, who will find pleasure in driving his own children to their soccer games on Saturday mornings. He will explain again to his friends that we must "cooperate" with heterosexual families; that if we would protect gay children we must raise them, and even produce them. There may be winks all around, and the sense that he is doing something for "the cause." But as Andrew Sullivan appreciates, "queer" politics always seeks to take "shame-abandonment to a thrilling conclusion." And what could be more exquisite and subtle than this reversal upon a reversal? A man lives a highly visible public life as a homosexual, but he enters a marriage, which is taken as a kind of charade, and he is content to abet the jest with knowing glances. But the secret that dare not speak its name is that he really is, after all, a domesticated man, settled in his marriage. As a writer and a man, Andrew Sullivan is committed to an understanding of political life that finds its ground in nature. And he takes, as the core of our civic life, marriage and the laws that sustain marriage. For all of that, we here, composed, as we are, of eros and of dust, love him. □



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 14, 1993

Dear Rusty,

Disregard those last few letters. We've turned the corner, Rusty. I think we're back on track.

But it wasn't easy getting us there. For a while, Bill was so depressed, he wouldn't eat, wouldn't sleep; he just kept pacing his office and muttering to himself.

One night, when I knew he'd be working late, I dropped by with a couple of pizzas and a videotape of Sharon Stone's new movie, *Sliver*. I had to pull a lot of strings to get that tape—the movie hadn't been released—but I knew it would cheer Bill up.

I walked in the door and he didn't even look up.

"Sorry, Al. I'm not hungry," he said.

"But I've got the new Sharon Stone movie," I said.

"*Sliver*? Saw it two weeks ago. Valenti brought it by. I thought it was kind of slow. I don't think Sharon's character was fully realized. But it'll have a great opening weekend—at least that's what Sherry Lansing and Bob Evans told me last week."

"Oh," I admit I was disappointed. Bill had seen *Sliver* and he hadn't invited me.

"Look, Al, I've got a lot of reading to do. I have to study up on Bosnia, read these articles of Lani's—"

"I'm sure those can wait," I said, and held up the two pizza boxes. Dammit, he needed a break.

"I guess you're right, Al. Let's dig in."

It was a good conversation. We had a frank discussion of the problems in our Administration. We realized we needed to hire someone to get things in order, someone with an insider's perspective. The first person I thought of was Roy Neel, my Chief of Staff, but then I remembered that Bill had already moved Roy to his office three weeks ago to get things in order and provide an insider's perspective. We finally settled on David Gergen. Bill knew him from those Renaissance Weekends he and HRC go to. Tipper and I have never been to one of those. We were invited last year, but I'm not crazy about the idea of spending a weekend dressed in period costume learning to play the lute.

Anyway, we chose David, and for once, the press was pleased. HRC was a miffed. She didn't like hiring a Republican who worked for Reagan, and I can't say I really blamed her. But he's a sharp guy and he isn't really a conservative conservative. He's no right-wing kook like Kevin Phillips. I talked David up. "Dad likes him," I said, "They're in the same camp at Bohemian Grove."

"Great," said HRC.

"And the people at Aspen like him," I added.

"I've always enjoyed him at the Renaissance Weekends," Bill said.

"Best of all," Mack McLarty said, "he's friends with Perot. They know each other from Bermuda."

HRC snorted. "Well, let's hire him. He probably won't even need an office, since he spends so much time on vacation." And she stormed out of the room.

I got to the office early on David's first day. I stopped by his new office and opened the door, "Welcome to the team, David."

"Thanks, Mr. Vice President. But I've been on the team." It was Mark Gearan, my old deputy chief of staff. I guessed I was in the wrong office.

"Gergen's office is down the hall and to the left, in Dee Dee's old office."

At Dee Dee's old office, they told me that David's new office was temporarily Roy Neel's old office, which was right next to Stephanopoulos's new office, which was right off the Oval Office dining room. I headed for the Oval Office, figuring that Bill would know where everybody was. He had decided the week before to organize the office layout for the new staff, and he did a great job. I made a mental note to ask him to figure out a fairer way to schedule times for the White House tennis court. He's great at stuff like that.

On my way to the Oval Office, I heard muffled sobs from behind a closed door. I knocked, didn't hear anything, so I peered in. A mop slid off the wall and hit me in the face. It was dark in there, and the room smelled like Lysol. It was the upstairs maid's closet.

George Stephanopoulos was sitting behind a small desk against the wall, surrounded by feather dusters and brooms and a really huge vacuum cleaner.

"George? Is this your new office?"

George nodded. I could see that he'd been crying.

"Well," I stammered, "... it's ... it's ... it's certainly close to the Oval Office, isn't it?"

George nodded again. He had the kind of hiccups Al Jr. gets when he's been crying for a while. Poor kid. He hiccuped an answer: "I've been ... promoted. It's a ... promotion."

"It certainly is," I said. I could hear the sobs all the way to the press room, where David was moving into George's old office. I've always liked David. He and I jog together sometimes. During the '88 primary campaign, when Tipper and I were hiking in Tennessee, David popped up from behind a tree and walked with us for a while talking about how it feels to be a centrist. That's what I like about David. He's always there when you need him.

Take care, Al

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Truth and Consequences

JACOB COHEN

FOR David Brock, the issues in the face-off between Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas are issues of stark fact, permitting little interpretive extenuation. Either Thomas said the filthy things Miss Hill says he did, or he did not. If he did, then unarguably, in Brock's view, Thomas is a sexual harasser and a despicable liar into the bargain—for he denied everything, utterly, citing God as his witness. Such people should not sit on the Supreme Court, Brock stipulates. On the other hand, if Thomas did not say those very things to her, as Brock ardently argues, then Anita Hill and those who consciously abetted her detailed perjury are either villainous, or pathological, or both.

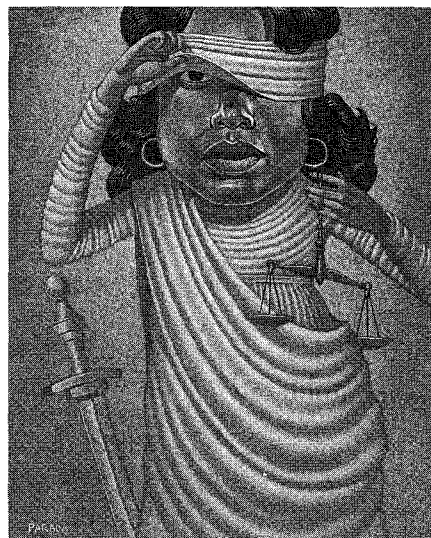
To paraphrase Senator Karl Mundt commenting on Alger Hiss and Whitaker Chambers 45 years ago, one of these two is the biggest liar of the century. Brock himself sees similarities between the two cases but should have added that in the matter of Thomas and Miss Hill we are seeking to find

fore not guilty," is defense enough. If this were his important but limited objective, his book would be victorious. (And indeed in these terms, and oth-

The Real Anita Hill: The Untold Story, by David Brock (Free Press, 438 pp., \$24.95)

the factual truth about alleged conversations that were completely private. Chambers produced secret documents to support his allegation that ten years earlier Hiss had given him secret documents; Miss Hill (who has to be Chambers in this analogy) produces only her highly detailed recollection of decade-old conversations. Seeking to conclusively resolve factual issues which he insists are of the essence, but which, by their very evidentiary nature, are almost impossible to resolve, Brock is pushed to make several startling and explicit accusations against Miss Hill.

The point needs to be stressed. Brock is not simply defending Thomas in the ordinary manner of defense attorneys for whom "not proven, there-



Roberto Parada

ers, it is, as I shall discuss below.) But Brock goes beyond that, trying to prove, conclusively, that throughout her professional life Miss Hill has lied over and over, in small ways and large, and *therefore* that she lied egregiously about the dirty talk, thereby activating an already latent conspiracy against Thomas, in order to keep him off the Supreme Court. It is with regard to these central assertions, which by the end of the book become as lurid as those made by Miss Hill against Thomas, that I must demur.

It is worth noting that these accusations against Anita Hill are Brock's,

not Thomas's. Unlike Hiss, who concocted a tale of homosexual fratricide to explain why Chambers, on brief acquaintance, would lie so egregiously about him, Thomas made no effort to explain why Miss Hill, a long-time friend and protégée, would take such pains to destroy him. Neither does Brock do much to explain Thomas's silence in this regard. Thomas didn't even reflect on a possible political motivation, which, if Brock is right about Miss Hill's open and long-standing opposition to his civil-rights conservatism and about her not-so-secret feminism, was there for the speculating. Hearing about her accusations more than a week before they became public knowledge, Thomas did not call his old friend to ask what in God's name she was talking about. He did not even seem angry at her, though she was the prime cause of his pain. (Neither did Hiss seem angry; he kept saying how much he pitied Chambers and Nixon.) Surprisingly, Thomas did not listen even one minute, he said, to her testimony or study the transcripts, a fact that gives pause since one would think that an innocent man, a lawyer, would have scoured the transcripts seeking insights into his accuser and ammunition for his defense. For all the fervor of his proclamations of innocence and his inapposite railings against a "high-tech lynching" (confusingly, but effectively, playing the race card), there seemed something suspiciously passive and fatalistic about Thomas's response to accusations which Brock contends were totally off the wall.

And while Brock is at great pains to discount the significance of this point, it must be noted that Thomas (like Hiss) refused to take a lie-detector test, while Miss Hill (like Chambers) agreed to submit to one and apparently passed. True, the test makes mistakes when pathological liars elude its physiological monitors or when it is conducted by an incompetent. True, innocent people sometimes appear guilty, and perhaps Thomas, who like many men seems to have had a taste for porn films in his youth, feared that guilty feelings about matters pornographic would distort his honest responses to questions about the alleged dirty talk. But Brock's suggestion that the test was rigged and the tester an incompetent, and that Miss Hill had nothing to lose in taking the test because a failed test would

Mr. Cohen, chairman of the American Studies Department at Brandeis University, is writing a book entitled The Performance of Innocence, concerning Sacco and Vanzetti, Alger Hiss, Bruno Hauptmann, the Rosenbergs, and John Demjanjuk.

never be reported by her lawyers, seems a bit of a stretch to me. The point is in no way decisive, but Miss Hill's apparent willingness and Thomas's reluctance to take the test ought to count somewhat against him.

If Thomas were guilty, Brock asks, why didn't he withdraw his name from consideration for the High Court rather than risk the pummeling a guilty man had every reason to expect? He could have remained a federal judge, his family and himself saved from the savaging. An interesting and perhaps salient argument, though again the Hiss analogy may be pertinent, for Hiss, guilty in my view, recklessly pressed his innocence when simple silence, the Fifth

Amendment, could have saved him enormous trouble. Furthermore, it should be noted that, after all, if Thomas was gambling recklessly when he denied all, the gamble paid off. He sits on the Supreme Court.

Of course, the main controversy over the book has centered around Brock's refutation and extraordinary reinterpretation of what had seemed to be Miss Hill's strongest and, indeed, her only corroborative evidence, the testimony of four people who separately and independently contacted her after Thomas's nomination to the High Court, or after the public disclosure of Miss Hill's charges, to say that they recalled Miss Hill reporting the harassment and being distressed by it, either at the time or fairly soon after it allegedly occurred.

When Judge Susan Hoerchner heard, in July 1991, that Thomas had been nominated, she immediately called Miss Hill, an old friend whom she had not seen for many years, to ask her, as it were, whether she was going to turn the bastard in. Brock does not dispute that Judge Hoerchner had the strong impression that Thomas was the man whom Miss Hill had complained about, several times, ten years earlier. Nor does he dispute the two women's contention that when Anita Hill first told Susan Hoerchner about her distress over her boss's behavior, she had her friend take an oath of silence about the matter. Ac-

cording to Judge Hoerchner, in the summer of 1991, Miss Hill released her from that oath, and, in Brock's persuasive telling, it was Judge Hoerchner's private iteration of the charge that summer that came to the attention of anti-Thomas activists in Washington and led in part to the sordid events which followed in September and October.

According to Brock, Miss Hill could not have been complaining about Thomas when she reported harassment to Susan Hoerchner, ten years earlier, because at the time of the original conversations Miss Hill was not yet working for Thomas. Brock's evidence for this is from transcripts of Judge Hoerchner's first in-

terviews with the Senate staff and the FBI in which she repeatedly places the time of her hour-long phone conversations with Miss Hill in the spring of 1981, eight months before Thomas's alleged harassment. Very important to Judge Hoerchner in reconstructing these dates was the fact that she had moved from Washington, D.C., to California in September 1981 (three months before the alleged harassment) and she clearly associated the calls with those she had frequently had with Miss Hill when the two were in Washington together. Brock concedes that in her later testimony Judge Hoerchner changed her story, firmly placing the calls after the alleged incident, which would make them calls to California. (It seems to me that the much-touted refutation of the book which appeared in *The New Yorker* misses the mark on this and several other scores. Brock's analysis of the record is scrupulous here.)

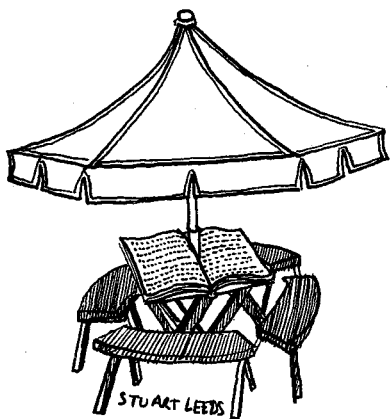
So here is what must have happened, according to Brock: Judge Hoerchner calls Miss Hill about Thomas not knowing that Miss Hill had actually complained about sexual harassment by someone else at the law firm where she worked before joining Thomas. (Brock is not sure whether the harassment was actual or a figment of Miss Hill's cunning imagination.) Miss Hill strokes the mistake and builds on it, releases Judge Hoerchner from her oath, permits her

to circulate the news, and later elaborates on it. When Judge Hoerchner realizes the error, she makes up several lies to save Miss Hill's face, her own face, and the cause of Left-feminism which they both serve. Miss Hill's team of advisors also must know the score, for they help alter Judge Hoerchner's reports on the matter, consciously orchestrating what is now, according to Brock, a wider conspiracy of lies and character assassination.

What is most persuasive about Brock's argument on this crucial point is that Judge Hoerchner recalls not one but several conversations, ten years earlier, with Miss Hill on the matter: the initial complaint and subsequent conversations in which Miss Hoerchner asked her what she was doing about the harassment. Thus there would need to have been not one but several phone calls to California. Notwithstanding the fact that she has changed her story about the date of the original conversations, Judge Hoerchner did not say—as far as I know she has never said—that she clearly remembers several lengthy cross-country calls. Indeed she admits that the two women pretty much ceased contact after she herself moved to California.

However, confusion about long-since chronologies is not uncommon (Hiss made much of Chambers's indubitable contradictions in recollections, about matters ten years old, concerning when Chambers broke with the Communist underground). Perhaps there were several hour-long cross-country calls, which Judge Hoerchner simply forgot about. She clearly recalls a conversation with Miss Hill that took place before she took the job with Thomas, in which she expressed her excitement at the prospect of working with him. That may be the Washington call Judge Hoerchner remembers so vividly and the others may indeed have been to California. If this seems a bit far-fetched, is it more so than the conspiratorial story Brock asks us to accept in its stead? The oath of silence, which Brock accepts, makes more sense if Thomas, Anita Hill's protector and sponsor and fellow black, was the alleged perpetrator, rather than some white cowboy at the law firm.

According to Brock, the same scenario, unlikely as it may seem, played itself out three other times: people calling Miss Hill to remind her about



her complaints and distress about Thomas. Again in those cases, says Brock, Miss Hill was actually complaining about a different harasser—indeed, he even names one possible harasser, unfairly in my view, on no evidence except the man's general reputation as a harasser.

As Brock tells the story, when Susan Hoerchner's mistaken gossip reached the anti-Thomas forces—staffers for liberal senators, feminist activists, liberal warriors—they, understandably, contacted her for more details. Pressured by them and by her friends, she slowly, and reluctantly, supplied same, and finally, after fiercely insisting on anonymity, went public when a possibly criminal leak of her confidential testimony (Brock convinces us that Senator Paul Simon of Illinois and staffer James Brudney separately and independently leaked the explosive material) smoked her into the open. The riveting details of the alleged harassment—*Long Dong Silver*, references to pubic hair on Coke cans, graphic pornographic and bestial descriptions, supposed boasts about his own prowess and equipment, and his alleged comment to her that she could ruin his career by telling the world about him—would thus be total inventions developed late in the day and drawn from sources entirely other than Clarence Thomas's conversations.

Why did Miss Hill slander her friend and frequent sponsor and protector? Brock offers multiple explanations, different explanations in different parts of the book. At times he stresses ideological and political factors, and here his argument is fresh and persuasive. More dubious are his efforts at psychoanalysis from a considerable distance. Miss Hill, we hear, is the kind of person who habitually uses charges of sexual harassment or, when her bosses are not African-American, racism, in order to hide from her own demonstrated inadequacies. A black affirmative-action child of our times, she suffered, to the point of malicious pathology, from the suspicion that she was not good enough for the challenging jobs she fraudulently obtained by virtue of her race and gender. Furious at a father figure and protector who abandoned her by betraying diminished confidence in her abilities, she set out, symbolically, to destroy him. (Brock discounts specula-

tion that she was in love with Thomas and resented his marriage to a white woman.) Going further, in his final chapter, and citing a wide range of unattributed gossip, Brock more than suggests that the "real" Anita Hill has had a not-so-secret life as a foul-minded, foul-mouthed, porn-loving, sex-obsessed hag, a person not very different from the person she accused Thomas of being. According to Brock, she is an habitual seducer of students who may even have sprinkled snippets of her pubic hair in exam books (why, for goodness sake?). His evidence is the locker-room tales of students whose testimony is more likely to be about themselves than her. Allegedly, Miss Hill talks dirty to friends about men and their sexual equipment, and sees harassment in the most innocent contact between men and women. What Brock seems to be saying here is that Miss Hill is a moral monster, and moreover a representative feminist of our times, capable of precisely the betrayal he has attributed to her. At points he suggests that her pathologies are so consuming that she has come to believe her own villainous inventions. Small wonder that she took the lie-detector test so confidently, and passed it triumphantly. Coming from someone who eloquently protests against what he convinces us are unsubstantiated, and indeed unsubstantiatable accusations against Thomas, this psychoanalytic rampage is, frankly, disgusting.

Indeed, the material in this unfortunate chapter actually undermines Brock's central point, because the Anita Hill depicted here seems precisely the sort of person whom a porn-lover and dirty talker would choose to seduce without fear that his approach would be taken as harassment. Furthermore, on the basis of this sort of speculation, Brock does not need to refute testimony of those who say Anita Hill complained about Thomas's harassment long ago. For the Anita Hill who emerges from these final pages may have been lying about Thomas even then, and Judge Hoerchner and the others may indeed be remembering correctly that it was Clarence Thomas she complained about.

Notwithstanding all this, I think the book should be credited with some important victories and is an important contribution to the discourse about this entire episode. We are convinced

by Brock that Anita Hill had strong and partisan objections to Thomas's nomination on ideological grounds which she disguised in her testimony; we are convinced, as we are in reviewing the Bork hearings, that a spirit of unconscionable zealotry and viciousness is corrupting the process by which Supreme Court nominees are considered and that there were forces that would stop at almost nothing to derail the Thomas nomination (although in this account they did stop several times before Anita Hill enticed them further). This reviewer is persuaded that Thomas is a more substantial thinker—his apparent obtuseness at the hearing forced by the recent history of hearings—and his adequacy for the Court more defensible than I had thought, and that he is a man of formidable strength of character and moral integrity. Brock convinces us as well that Anita Hill is not the innocent rustic of recent legend; that she has frequently been an inadequate lawyer and teacher of law; and that she has not only failed to confess to her professional failures and personal inadequacies (that's not shocking) but fibbed about them (which also is not exactly unusual).

What David Brock has not done, in my view, is prove that Anita Hill was the sort of liar who would tell the extreme lies he attributes to her, or that she singularly carried off the daring and personally dangerous deception which he alleges, or that the others who became aware of it after the fact have agreed to collaborate in this considerable conspiracy.

But then I do not accept his stipulation that there are no alternatives to the extreme scenario he has developed in his book. With a little human imagination, one could construct several

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human arrangements—private, invisible, arrangements between Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas—that would explain the behavior of both of them, then and now, and even encompass their possible lies. Indeed, I think one could even interpret Thomas's false denials (if they are false) of what the eavesdropper would call filthy talk in a way that does not damn him to the perdition Brock assigns to any such

public mendacity. As Wittgenstein teaches, there are matters about which we simply are in no position to speak the final truth and in those cases we should not try to whistle the truth either. That doesn't keep us from saying much that is important, and there is much that is important in this work, but it does caution us against imitating the zealotry we deplore. □

might elsewhere have succeeded; judicial leniency, by which criminals are excused as victims and crime flourishes; instruction in the schools and colleges that values are relative, when the fact is that some values and not others lead to accomplishment—Magnet explains in fascinating detail the way these other changes undermine the belief systems the poor need in order to advance.

Poor Asians and other immigrant groups do better in our economy than inner-city blacks and others among our indigenous poor. The reason usually given is a combination of family, work ethic, and mutual help—cultural factors. Magnet adds that new immigrants are not in touch with our culture and manage thereby not to learn that they are victims and thus not responsible for their condition. Many really were victims in the country they came from, and they can tell the difference. Seldom do they sink into the underclass.

This book should persuade anyone whose mind is open that the evolution of values has contributed greatly to the creation and growth of our urban underclass. Whether the reader accepts Magnet's further claim—that without these changes the underclass

would not have developed—is another matter. My own view is that the changes Magnet describes have served to swell the underclass, but it would have developed anyway. The trigger was the overdue enforcement of civil rights. Changes in laws and practices enabled black Americans with productive abilities and attitudes, usually those with strong families, to move from the ghetto into previously all-white neighborhoods and jobs. Leadership from strong and vigorous churches and businesses had been a vital part of life in the inner cities prior to the 1960s. The residents who were left behind, with the loss of their successful peers, constituted an increasingly troubled community. An economic factor, the flow of better-paying low-skilled jobs to other places, also needs to be recognized.

But while I disagree with Magnet in part, I strongly agree with him that the cultural changes he describes have

Thanks for Nothing

RICHARD W. WHITE JR.

WILLIAM BENNETT and others have insisted that the principal cause of persistent poverty, dependence, and lawlessness in our inner cities is not any lack of economic opportunity; it is a cultural deficiency—an absence of belief in such values as the worth of work and the importance of personal responsibility. In *The Dream and the Nightmare*, Fortune magazine's Myron

The Dream and the Nightmare: The Sixties' Legacy to the Underclass, by Myron Magnet (Morrow, 256 pp., \$20)

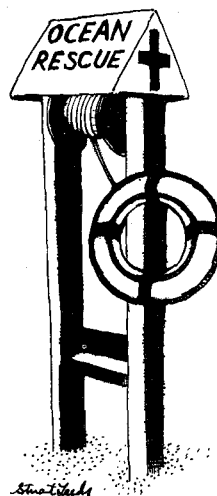
Magnet seconds this position, then goes on to set forth a theory about how that cultural deficiency came about. Magnet argues that the condition is not inherent in the black poor themselves, as some would say, nor is it the product of economic discouragement and racial humiliation, as liberals commonly maintain. Nor is it due to capitalist exploitation, as the Left claims.

The problem does, however, originate with the affluent. "The Haves," Magnet writes, have "radically remade American culture, turning it inside out and upside down to accommodate a cultural revolution whose mangled victims turned out to be the Have-Nots." Without this cultural revolution in the larger society, there would be no permanent underclass such as we have. Each shift of attitudes and practices among the affluent has,

through a chain of proclamations, policies, and programs, turned the poor further away from the attitudes and practices that previously enabled them to work their way out of poverty.

Magnet shows how changes in the way we, the affluent, view morality have altered the character of the law, public schools, universities, the welfare system, and the mental-health system. We decide it is all right to live together outside marriage, so we stop telling the poor they should marry. Welfare rules and practices are modified accordingly. Marriage rates among the poor decline, which is doubly unfortunate because historically marriage has proved the best protection against poverty. Children are raised by teenage mothers who have no idea how to raise them properly, in an environment that leaves them inadequately socialized. By the time these children reach child-fathering or child-bearing age themselves, it is too late to teach them character.

Changes in our ideas of personal morality are part of the problem. And, Magnet says, so are our views on broader social and political issues. Misgivings about American justice and morality that arose during the civil-rights movement and the Vietnam War have led us to weaken or abandon our standards of behavior and performance. Those on the bottom of the system are affected most. Affirmative action, whose rewards communicate racial inferiority and whose admission of underqualified minorities to top colleges leads many to fail who



Mr. White, a research fellow at the Institute for Contemporary Studies in San Francisco, is the author of Rude Awakenings: What the Homeless Crisis Tells Us.

led us to make things far worse and to avoid the kinds of actions that might actually help. He says that it is not too late to act, and sets forth thoughtful recommendations. The re-establishment of a "community of values" is essential, both to solve the problems of the inner city and what Magnet calls "the inner malaise of the Haves." People can be left free to remain unmarried and even to have children in that arrangement, but they should not be funded by welfare to set up an independent household. While tolerating other "lifestyles," we should set a national goal of encouraging and strengthening traditional two-parent families—in Magnet's words, "the essential socializing institution."

Magnet says the "first answer" is to stop making the problems worse. "Stop the current welfare system, stop quota-based affirmative action, stop treating criminals as justified rebels, stop letting bums expropriate public spaces or wrongdoers live in public housing at public expense, stop Afrocentric education in the schools." Stop searching for the perfect job-training program, labor camp, adjustment to the welfare system, condom giveaway—"the ideal program, so fine-tuned that it will at last succeed where all others have failed." Take measures (Magnet provides the details, and his recommendations are excellent) to reclaim our streets from thugs, drunks, druggies, and homeless. Make sure the schools are "directed to teach and to discipline."

I agree with nearly all of Magnet's recommendations, having arrived independently at many of them in my own recent book. However, I strongly believe that an added piece is needed in Magnet's welfare strategy. Economics does play a primary role along with culture, as Magnet acknowledges. We need to recognize that domestic wages for unskilled workers have been driven down by international competition and by immigration, both legal and illegal. The answer lies in raising the earned-income tax credit (EITC), a position advocated first by conservatives and currently by Bill Clinton. Full-time working heads of families should earn at least the "poverty level" of roughly \$14,000 for a family of four. This would encourage the marriage of young men to the mothers of their children, as they would be able to support their family and actually

would see a bigger paycheck than if they remained single. This sends both an economic and a cultural message that marriage and responsibility are the way to go.

This superbly written and well argued book should stimulate discussions across the breadth of the political spectrum. Leftists and some

liberals will try to deny the cultural thesis and will continue to insist on the sole primacy of economics. Moderates will debate whether Magnet has gone too far—whether cultural messages from "the Haves" actually caused the explosion of the underclass or just aggravated it. Conservatives will simply feast on the book. □

All Quiet on the Eastern Front

GEORGE SHADROUI

EARLIER this year, a friend of mine, en route from Jordan to Syria, waited nervously as Syrian border guards searched his cab and luggage for forbidden materials. Not all that thoroughly, it turns out. In the trunk of the cab, carefully hidden in a suitcase, was a copy of a book my friend intended to deliver to a resi-

Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising, and the Arab World, by Kanan Makiya (Norton, 367 pp., \$22.95)

dent of Damascus. As an extra precaution, he had slipped the book into a misleading jacket—appropriately, Andrei Codrescu's *Disappearance of the Outside*, which includes an essay on dissident Eastern European writers.

The contraband book was *Cruelty and Silence*, written by another dissident living in exile, the Iraqi writer Kanan Makiya, a/k/a Samir al-Khalil.

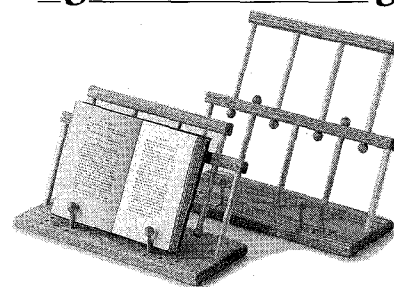
The Arab world needs this kind of courage and the breath of freedom such small acts can bring, for while it is heartening that some Arab countries (notably Yemen, Jordan, and Egypt) are trying to move toward more democratic rule, it is a fact that censorship, political intimidation, and widespread repression remain the prevailing tools of control in most Arab states. Acts of conscience are a first step toward real liberation.

Cruelty and Silence could spark a flurry of small, courageous acts. It is an eloquent plea for a more humane and democratic Arab political culture and is sure to cause discomfort not only in Arab capitals, but in the halls

of academia where Arab and Arab-American intellectuals, Makiya maintains, have been less than outspoken about the Arab world's internal problems.

Makiya, who was educated at MIT, is a compelling critic of Arab society because he obviously cares about its future and its people; he has no anti-Arab agenda hidden up his sleeve. From a prominent Shiite family in Baghdad, he left a job with his father's architectural firm in the mid 1980s because he objected to doing any more work for Saddam's regime. During the Gulf War, Makiya's first book, *Repub-*

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Mr. Shadroui reported on the Gulf War from Cairo for NBC Radio News and several newspapers and magazines.

lic of Fear, became a best-seller. That book, written under his pseudonym, detailed the inner workings of the Stalinist security state imposed and maintained by Saddam Hussein's Baathist regime.

Republic of Fear angered many Arab intellectuals and writers, particularly those who opposed the U.S.-led counterattack against Iraq. They criticized the author, who initially supported the U.S. effort, for playing to Arab stereotypes. In *Cruelty and Silence*, Makiya answers these critics.

If I am preoccupied with the cruelty and violence that has grown so alarmingly in the Arab world, it is in the belief that there is no other way of making that cruelty recede from our lives. . . . It is, therefore, not an essentialist or an unchangeable condition; it is a *politics of silence*.

The book opens with a series of riveting firsthand accounts of what occurred inside Iraq and Kuwait during and immediately after the Gulf War. Makiya made use of his Iraqi ties to interview a number of people about the postwar uprising and the chaos and violence they endured throughout the crisis.

These wrenching personal accounts speak for themselves. Makiya's reporting spares no one—not Saddam, not his Shiite brethren who rose up against Saddam, nor the American military, which Makiya thinks went too far in its air strikes against Baghdad. *Cruelty*, Makiya concludes, ruled the day.

Just as disturbing, he argues in the second half of the book, is the silence of important Arab thinkers and writers about the ongoing violence and oppression taking place in the Arab world, particularly in what he calls the Arab East (Iraq, the Levant, and the Gulf). Makiya cites as an example the observation of an Egyptian intellectual, Fouad Zakariyya, that in the months leading up to the U.S.-orchestrated counterattack he had not spoken with a single Arab intellectual or writer who did not privately sympathize with Saddam.

Indeed, Makiya argues, silence about Arab oppression is pervasive. It is the silence about Lebanon (not a single documentary book has appeared in Arabic about that bloody civil and regional war, Makiya says), about the Gulf regimes' systematic discrimination against women and disturbing

moral hypocrisy (well-known to poor Egyptians who must endure Gulf Arabs turning Cairo into a bordello), about Operation Anfal, in which at least 100,000 Iraqi Kurds were systematically murdered by Saddam's regime without a single major Arab intellectual (other than Makiya, it seems) condemning the action.

Those occasional Arab voices that are raised in protest, Makiya argues, are overwhelmed by the clamor about Israeli abuses of Palestinians and U.S. "imperialism." Makiya is convinced that many Arab intellectuals remain fixated by the idea that some military messiah will liberate them from their own feelings of malaise and helplessness. Their hopes are misplaced, he suggests, for the Arabs must liberate themselves from within before they can escape the dangers from without.

Silence is a synonym for the death of compassion in the Arab world; it is the politics of not washing your dirty laundry in public while gruesome cruelties and whole worlds of morbidity unfold all around you. Silence is choosing, ostrich-like, not to know what Arab is doing to fellow Arab, all in the name of a knee-jerk anti-Westernism which has turned into a disease.

Makiya will be accused of being a self-hating Arab. Others, who bear the Arab world no goodwill, will seek to exploit his critique for their own purposes. Be that as it may, Makiya's plea for a more enlightened and freer Arab world is refreshingly candid. True, he is not totally fair. He dismisses or ignores important critiques of the Arab world written by Adonis, Sadeq Al Azm, Fatima Mernissi, and

Edward Said, to name a few. Also, he could be accused of being too idealistic; no uprising against Saddam Hussein is likely to be successful without some bloodshed. Still, on the whole, Makiya's argument that Arab intellectuals are too quick to blame the West for their problems is persuasive, for even if Western colonialism did have adverse effects on Arab political culture, there still comes a time for honest self criticism.

In the wake of a Gulf War that traumatized Arabs throughout the world, Makiya, I think, would share the sentiment expressed by Cecil Hourani a quarter of a century ago after another war—the 1967 one with Israel—left Arabs searching for answers. Hourani wrote then:

The fate and the peace of the Near East should not be left to the initiative of Israel alone. Even if Israel opts for a closed, exclusive type of society, and rejects Arabs as fellow-citizens, we should not do the same. . . . Our greatest victory will be the day when the Jews in Palestine will prefer to live in an Arab society rather than an Israeli one. It is up to us to make that possible.

In short, Arab and Arab-American intellectuals, especially those in the West, should be leading voices on behalf of liberalization and tolerance in the Arab world. They, after all, are least vulnerable to repression. In turning the sword back on themselves—by being brutally frank about political and cultural shortcomings—Arab intellectuals will begin in a lasting way the hard work of liberating their people from what has become, for them, a tragic century. □

Current Consensus

JOSEPH SOBRAN

HOW is it that one can read a book of abstract political philosophy and feel reasonably certain that its author voted for Bill Clinton?

John Rawls is a noted theorist whose book *A Theory of Justice* is widely regarded as a modern classic—an essay in ambitious, old-fashioned political theorizing that tackles large questions and attempts to give answers. If only there were more like it.

And yet, at the end of the day, one

feels there is something cramped about its generalizing, something parochial in its very universalism. It has

Political Liberalism, by John Rawls (Columbia, 401 pp., \$29.95)

the feel of an attempt to rationalize a status quo. It seems not to break new ground but to articulate a pre-existing consensus among a certain set of peo-

Mr. Sobran is NR's critic-at-large.

ple—academic liberals, in the current sense of “liberal.” Philosophy, it seems to say, leads us inexorably to a great big secularist egalitarian welfare state with lots of civil liberties—the Great Society and then some. I exaggerate cruelly, but that’s more or less what it comes to.

The same is true of Rawls’s new book, *Political Liberalism*. He wants us to understand that he is using “liberalism” in a wide sense, that the word doesn’t “presuppose” any particular “comprehensive” doctrine of the world or human nature. But, although he never uses such phrases as “compassion for the less fortunate” or “a decade of greed and selfishness,” he winds up leaving us feeling that we are in all-too-familiar territory.

When Rawls discusses “constitutional essentials,” for example, he gives such examples of “basic rights” as “the right to vote and to participate in politics, liberty of conscience, freedom of thought and association, as well as the protections of the rule of law.” Notice that property rights didn’t make the cut. But he adds a further “essential”; “a social minimum providing for the basic needs of all citizens.” This is the idiom not of philosophy but of a Democratic platform. For Rawls it is “basic” that the state must force some to support others.

And when he speaks of “a democratically ratified constitution with a bill of rights,” he clearly has in mind not just the U.S. Constitution, which he seems only vaguely familiar with, but the current corpus of Supreme Court interpretations (and distortions) of the Constitution. He speaks of the New Deal as among “the three most innovative periods of our constitutional history,” apparently oblivious to the controversies that have always swirled around the extraordinary (and cynical) liberties Franklin Roosevelt took with the Constitution he was sworn to uphold. The New Deal was “innovative” in that it *disregarded* key provisions of the Constitution, including parts of the Bill of Rights itself (the Ninth and Tenth Amendments, for example).

Nor is this all. He sees the Supreme Court as an “exemplar of public reason.” Like most liberals (current sense), he is unaware that the Court essentially went out of business during the New Deal: that it *ceased* to be a check on the centralization of pow-

er through legislative and executive usurpation (the role Hamilton envisioned for it in *The Federalist*) and became itself a *co-agent* of centralization, doing a lot of usurping of its own.

In saying all these things, Rawls is only reflecting the current consensus of intellectuals. Even many conservatives don’t grasp what has happened to the Constitution and have come to take for granted, if only through grudging inertia, that politics is largely a predatory mass competition for what used to be private property.

But Rawls has hung out his shingle as a philosopher, so he should be expected to achieve a certain aloofness from what is parochial in the attitudes of our time. Unfortunately, he writes sentences like this: “The [Supreme Court] Justices cannot, of course, invoke their own personal morality, nor the ideals and virtues of morality generally.” How would you explain the phrase “their own personal morality” to Aristotle or Locke?

The phrase is, however, a clue to the way Rawls thinks, and to the flaw in his thinking. He aims at a politics that represents an “overlapping consensus” among people of widely differing “comprehensive” views of the world and human nature. But, as I understand him, he thinks his own liberalism is already, somehow, a compromise between itself and the competition. In ef-

fect, he thinks he is splitting the difference by ruling in his own favor. That’s liberalism, all right.

One word in this book keeps haunting me: the mysterious pronoun “we.” I have often wondered what impels people (including me) to use it, except in cases (a family, a baseball team) where its antecedent is clearly defined. When it comes to “a society”—another mysterious entity—the word becomes enigmatic, since the “we” of whom Rawls, say, seems to be speaking does not and cannot include every supposed member.

As I read him, I get the uneasy sense that “we” comes to mean those who already see eye-to-eye with John Rawls: we-who-think-in-such-and-such-a-way. This “we” is more or less bound to reach Rawls’s conclusions, since it shares his premises. My guess is that it includes few Mormons, for example.

So the “overlapping consensus” Rawls hopes for is likely to shrink, not grow. His work is not intended for a mass audience, but I think its readership is bound to be even smaller in years to come, because it preaches to a choir that may not be around much longer. In essence he is arguing that the virtue of liberalism is that it’s the only principle most of today’s liberals can agree on. That may turn out to be a severely limited virtue. □

FILM

A Rheum in Bloomsbury

JOHN SIMON

VIRGINIA WOOLF’S *Orlando: A Biography*—part novelistic fantasy, part fictitious (but not so fictitious) biography of Mrs. Woolf’s lover, Vita Sackville-West—has been turned by Sally Potter into the movie *Orlando*. Appropriately, the subtitle has been dropped; but the film has so little bearing on the book that the title might have followed. The thing could just as well be called *Sarasota*.

Mrs. Woolf’s aims were to capture in the amber of her prose the flightiness of her lover, and make Miss Sackville-West forever her own; to convey an overview of the changing roles of men, women, and artists through 350 years (the poet Orlando never ages over that period, merely turns from a somewhat

feminine man into a slightly masculine woman), and to make a guarded plea for lesbianism, for if the artist’s nature is androgynous, his or her amours must logically be bisexual. And although *Orlando* is one of Mrs. Woolf’s markedly lesser works, it nevertheless abounds in subtle social, historical, and psychological observation with which the movie will have minimal truck.

Indeed, Sally Potter’s film is not even as faithful to its sources as Classic Comix are to theirs. It could be described as illustrations torn from the book, with a few captions clinging to their bottoms. Miss Potter’s protagon-

Mr. Simon is NR’s film critic.

nist is not truly a poet, and not much of a literary debater. Nor is he/she Vita Sackville-West, even if one or two key incidents from Vita's vita are preserved. And there are no Woolfian complexities: illustrations, even with captions, do not lend themselves to harboring ambiguities, however much Tilda Swinton, who plays Orlando, affects her version of the Gioconda smile. But Miss Potter's feminist politics are grafted on everywhere.

"How you could have hung so splendid a garment on so poor a peg," marveled Miss Sackville-West upon reading her beloved's tribute. On Vita's part, this was modesty, real enough but exaggerated. Yet it describes accurately how Miss

Potter, the writer-director, must have viewed the novel—as a mere peg on which to hang her cinematic splendors. Although shot on locations in England, St. Petersburg, and Uzbekistan, the film might as well have been made in a studio. It has the suffocating artiness of the recent British cinema of Peter Greenaway and Derek Jarman; if it does not quite sink to their level of perversity, neither does it have much of its own to replace it with.

Since many of the settings, though real locations, are not exactly the ones called for, there is often a sense of the edges of the shot being masked, of concealment via artful camera angles, Procrustean lighting, or tricky editing. Location shooting ends up looking like matte shots. To be sure, a \$4-million budget is quite an achievement these days, but a financial rather than artistic one. An achievement, too, is Miss Potter's co-composing the film's score, though it would be a greater one if the score amounted to something.

You can see that Miss Potter was trained as a dancer, for the film often looks more choreographed than directed. Accordingly, the most memorable scene is the nocturnal skating party on the (supposititious) Thames, frozen over. Here the male Orlando meets Sasha, the Muscovite ambassador's flirty married daughter—a character based on Violet Trefusis, with whom Miss Sackville-West had one of

her steamiest affairs. But since the *roman à clef* aspects of the story no longer produce the frissons they held for 1928 readers, and since Mrs. Woolf's style is also (in part unavoidably) jettisoned, what remains is a mere traversal of lavender-scented album leaves.

Tilda Swinton never made me believe her as a man, or respond to her as a woman. There is something watery about the Scot-

tish actress, the washed-out coloring of typical redheads giving her a piscine quality; she is certainly not what Mrs. Woolf called Miss Sackville-West in her diary, "a grenadier; hard, handsome, manly." And though not a bad actress, she is not gift-

ed enough to make up for what nature and Miss Potter have failed to provide her with. Queen Elizabeth in her early sixties is played by Quentin Crisp in his early eighties, and the effect is less crisp than creepy. Several good English or Canadian actors are not given enough chance to act, and the American Billy Zane is painful as the American adventurer Shelmerdine, who fathers the female Orlando's child. Meant to be the essence of exotic seductiveness, Zane suggests a minor rock musician trying to act suave. Only John Wood, as Archduke Harry, manages to be outrageous with just the right touch of nonchalance.

■ Claude Sautet is the cinematic equivalent of the boulevard playwright, but the kind with artistic pretensions à la Henri Bataille and Henry Bernstein that flourished in France in the first half of our century. His films—such as *The Things of Life*, *César and Rosalie*, and *Vincent, François, Paul and the Others*—concern amorous entanglements that form and dissolve for no apparent reasons, friendships that follow utterly arbitrary courses, successes and failures that defy rational analysis. "Life is like that," we are supposed to think. And life often is, but art must know something more, and should get a little deeper under the skin of things.

In *Un Coeur en hiver*, Sautet is back in his slippery saddle, tugging at

the reins for no good reason, making his film gallop away in several directions simultaneously and arrive at no significant goal. Those who love, love capriciously; those who don't, withhold love equally arbitrarily in the wintriness of their hearts. Maxime and Stéphane are co-owners of a violin repair shop patronized by virtuosos. Maxime lives opulently, Stéphane modestly behind the shop. They seem to be close friends, yet Stéphane declares that after work they go their separate ways. Hmmm?

Maxime tells Stéphane that he has finally fallen in love and is leaving his wife and children, with whom the movie never concerns itself. The object of his requited passion is Camille, a rising star of the violin, about to move in with him. Then Camille meets Stéphane, and promptly falls for him. Yes, yes, life is like that. Camille lives with Régine, an older woman who is her agent, and who is jealous enough of Camille to be her lover. But no, they are not lesbians. Then why would a successful young artist live with her agent?

Stéphane has a close female friend, a bookseller, who is his confidante. The exact nature of their relationship remains a mystery. The young woman encourages him to go after Camille, which he seems to wish to, except that Maxime is his friend as well as partner. But weren't we told otherwise? Stéphane and Camille finally enjoy what looks every bit like the preliminaries to a heavy affair, but when Camille ecstatically throws herself at him, Stéphane politely rejects her. He is incapable of loving. Why? No hint of an explanation. But hardly has he made Camille miserable before he is calling on her to explain himself. Before he does, she now rejects him. Life is like that.

Generously, Maxime encourages his partner to steal his girl. When Stéphane refuses, Maxime gallantly punches him out. Stéphane breaks up the partnership and sets up his own violin atelier. Maxime comes to visit him, and they are the best of buddies again. Meanwhile every one of the three principal characters loves Lachaume, the great teacher who taught all of them to play the violin. Lachaume is a boring pontificator, but the movie wants us to admire him as a sage. A garden dinner party of his, at which profound questions of life and



art are discussed, sounds like a parody, but is presented by Sautet without a trace of irony. Is life really like that?

Whenever Stéphane is suffering (but why would such a wintry heart suffer?), he drives to his old violin teacher's country house for a few restorative days. Lachaume lives with a woman who quietly adores him, but whom the film fails to identify as his wife, mistress, or housekeeper. Still, the pair radiates peace, except for the mysterious malady that sometimes makes Lachaume clutch at his heart and collapse. Soon he is mortally ill, yet unable to die. His wife, mistress, or housekeeper cannot bring herself to administer the euthanasia his eyes (he can no longer speak) plead for. Only Stéphane can and does. Is this a proof of his love—Lachaume, he says, is the only person he may ever have

loved—or more wintry-heartedness? Life is . . . etc.

This perfectly hollow and insufferably pretentious charade was concocted by three scenarists, but plays as if they had been a committee of thirty. The acting, however, is eminently respectable: André Dussollier is a smooth Maxime, capable of profound feelings under his seemingly mundane façade; Daniel Auteuil is a properly brooding Stéphane, even if there is nothing much to brood about. As Camille, Emmanuelle Béart is as lovely and persuasive as ever, and has learned to fake fiddling expertly. The Ravel chamber pieces we watch being played are performed on the soundtrack by fine artists, though the music seems to be slumming in this tawdry context. Still, *Un Coeur en hiver* has garnered enthusiastic reviews. Life is definitely like that. □

DELECTATIONS

La Dolce Via

LINDA BRIDGES

THE derelictions of Italy's political class are a continuing scandal, with fresh news of corruption, bribery, and general fraud upon the taxpayer hitting the papers every day. And yet one of the politicians' gravest errors has not made the front pages, but only the travel section: their attempt, in the name of Europe '92, to make Italians drive just like everyone else.

Specifically, a law passed last year, designed to harmonize Italian traffic laws with European Community standards, imposes a speed limit of 130 kilometers per hour (81 mph) on the autostradas—the two dozen limited-access highways that span the country—with extremely stiff fines for infractions. Now, to Americans bedeviled by our 55/65 mph speed limit, that may not sound like a big deal, but it gets at the whole relation between law and culture in that wonderful collection of non-autonomous regions known as Italy.

In the first place, January 1, the date the new law went into effect, did not mark the first time there have been speed limits on the autostradas;

the old system was a byzantine variable limit, in which your maximum speed depended on how big your car's engine was. The complexity didn't matter, though, since the old law was seldom enforced (the height of the summer vacation season being the main exception). But although nobody obeyed the law, *everyone plays by the rules*. The cardinal rule is: Thou shalt not pass on the right. And its corollary is: Thou shalt not hog the left lane.

Now, that's the *law* in a lot of places, including Connecticut and California; but in Italy a rule matters more than a law, and there I have seen someone pass on the right only once, and that was this winter, perhaps heralding the coming breakdown of the social fabric.

Unlike a law, a rule doesn't require a policeman to enforce it. A foreigner driving on the autostrada for the first time gets the idea very quickly. You check the rear-view mirror, pull out to pass in your customary leisurely way, and surprise! that speck on the horizon has become an Alfa-Romeo one car length behind you flashing its lights furiously. Even if you are past that truck by now, and the Alfa could physically pass you on the right, its driver

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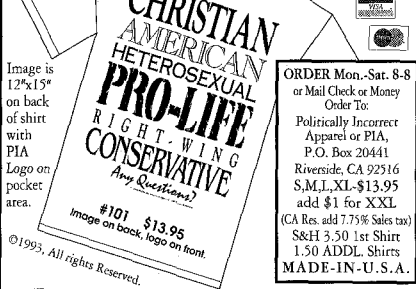
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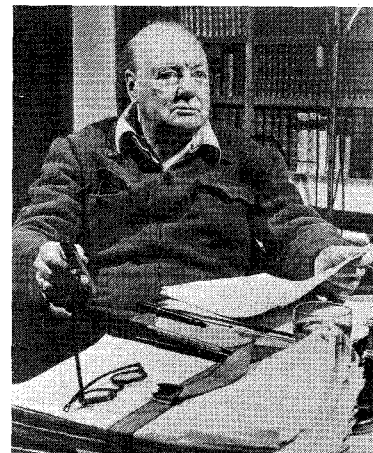
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would no more do so than the car would sprout wings and fly over you.

This might come amiss in New York or Houston, where an attempt to claim the left lane is sometimes regarded as a shooting offense, but in Italy the peremptoriness *vis-à-vis* someone who has broken a rule is softened by courtesy toward those who are trying to behave. If, when you miscalculate the speed of the car zooming up on the left, what you are passing is not a single truck but a line of cars, when the need to return to the right lane becomes imminent, *they will let you in*, without animosity. The same applies to passing a line of cars on a surface road. Indeed, Italians' etiquette in passing is, so far as I know, unique. For example, if a surface road is physically wide enough to accommodate three vehicles abreast, it doesn't matter that it has only one official lane each way: the car being passed and the oncoming car each squeeze right, letting the passing car through. In short, the rule on which all the others depend is the Golden one.

The result is the requisite of order, predictability. (Note: I'm told that none of this applies to Palermo, where the rules, if there are such, are not discernible to the outsider.) It is presumably no coincidence that Italy has one of the lowest accident fatality rates in Europe (lower, too, than the United States'), on roads that harbor a mixture of vehicles ranging from miniature Fiats that can bowl along at 70 mph on the straightaway but that slow to about 40 on hills, to huge double-rigged trucks, through the whole middle range of cars that cruise at 80 to 100, to the Porsches and Lamborghinis that zoom along at 150. (*Conversation on the A8 north of Milan:* Driver: "Was that a Ferrari that just passed us?" Navigator, looking up from map and peering at a fast-disappearing silver streak: "Was *what* a Ferrari that just passed us?")

The combination of common sense and courtesy doesn't stop when an Italian gets out of his car. Modern anti-theft devices—and thefts—may have put a stop to this one, but the custom used to be that if you needed to park your car, and the only spot available would box someone else in, why, you simply left your door unlocked. That way, if the other driver returned first he could put your car in neutral and roll it ahead a few feet.

If a driver inexplicably forgot his manners and locked the car, all was not lost. *Scene:* The street that jogs around Sant' Andrea delle Valle in Rome (the church where the first act of *Tosca* is set). A driver, having failed to find a space in the little parking lot next to the church, leaves his car across the street, where it hinders buses negotiating the sharp turn. The proprietor of the bar outside which the car is parked notices the problem, comes out, and tries the doors. Locked. He goes back in, returns with three customers, and they bodily lift the car back ten feet.

Since there often are tight squeezes on roads built before modern traffic, pedestrians are ready to offer unsarcastic advice, which drivers accept without a hint of "Sez who?" *Scene:* A snowy Saturday night in one of the little villages on the road to Cortina d'Ampezzo. Saturday is the day when week-long ski packages begin and end, so there is considerable traffic. In one village there is a right-angle turn hemmed in on both sides by houses clinging to the mountainside. An oil truck coming down the mountain and a tour bus going up arrive at this turn at the same moment, each with a line of cars behind it. Both stop in time to avoid a collision, but neither has room to move.

Before five minutes of deadlock have elapsed, the villagers have sized up the situation. A teenaged boy goes running through the snow down the line of cars behind the bus. As he passes, he pauses by each to explain in a few words what he has in mind. When he reaches the last car, he has the whole line back up fifty feet; the bus does likewise, the oil truck goes through, another lad has the first car in the down-going line wait until the bus has pulled through—and all without a single *carabiniere* or representative of the fiscal police.

As in so many other aspects of Italian life, anything that can be done privately, without the government getting involved, is likely to work smoothly and amiably. This is the spirit the government, in its Euro-mindedness, is trying to kill. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Tribes: How Race, Religion, and Identity Determine Success in the New

Global Economy, by Joel Kotkin (Random House, 368 pp., \$24)

CURRENT EVENTS notwithstanding, Joel Kotkin reassures us not only that ethnicity and capitalism can co-exist, but that the cultures of several migrating, trans-national "tribes" have robustly nourished free markets. Jews were the first such tribe, but the British most effectively promoted intergroup standards that fused a religious outlook emphasizing hard work, family obligations, and education with more secular, universalistic principles based on market capitalism and political pluralism. The postwar Japanese were the next global tribe to thrive on this commercial culture; Chinese and Indians may be next. Kotkin's pro-market, pro-immigration scenario is so seductive that some conservative converts have begun "celebrating diversity" with an almost PC zeal. Not so fast. Kotkin notes only briefly the disastrous effects of massive immigration and clashing tribal solidarities in his own Southern California. And the full fury of Yugoslavia's ethnic cleansing had not emerged when his book went to press. Tribal cultures may foster economic miracles, but ethnic antagonism can quickly turn such wonders to ashes.

—FREDERICK LYNCH

Challenging the Civil Rights Establishment: Profiles of a New Black Vanguard, by Joseph G. Conti and Brad Stetson (Praeger, 240 pp., \$22.95)

THE SUPREME Court nomination of Clarence Thomas brought to life for most Americans what before might have seemed an unimaginable oxymoron: black conservatism. But after Thomas's confirmation—supported by a large majority of blacks—this "ism" vanished from the public mind. Conti and Stetson remind us it is a vital undercurrent in black America, and analyze the thought of four exemplars: Thomas Sowell, Shelby Steele, Robert L. Woodson, and Glenn C. Loury. All four "dissidents" call for a turn from the relentlessly political thrust of groups such as the NAACP, to an "interior" activism stressing personal responsibility and a revival of the "mediating structures" of the black community, its churches, families, neighborhoods.

(Continues on page 60)

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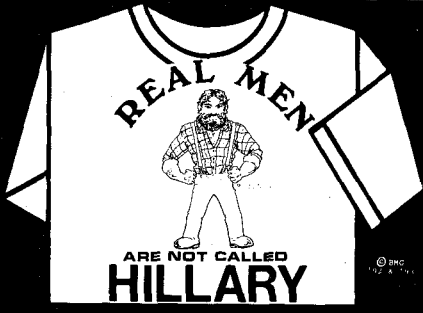
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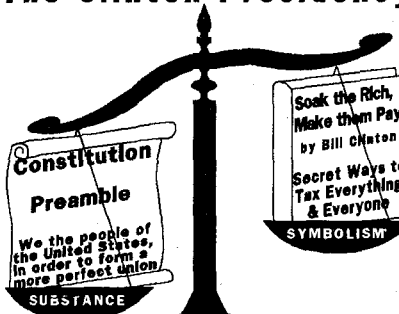
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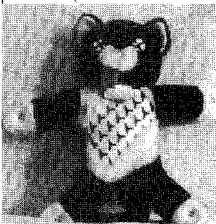
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Reprints of "The Decline of American Journalism" are available for \$2 each; bulk price upon request. Send to: NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

RODMAN

(Continued from page 25)

president, but many things must be negotiated before his return. Security must be provided for his safety; and Aristide, for his part, must pledge not to re-incite the mobs, not to take action with flaming 'Père Lebruns' as he said he intended to."

Bazin, a former finance minister and World Bank official, had long been known as a friend of the United States; indeed, one reason he lost the election to Aristide was his reputation as "the American candidate." He was installed by the army after Aristide's ouster partly because it was expected that he could get the sorts of economic help from the United States that Aristide could not. They were not counting on the depth of the American Government's commitment to a leader who, though democratically elected, had proved so inimical to the interests both of the United States and of a large number of his own people. And so the embargo remained in place, and Bazin's position was weakened.

Embargo? What embargo? Restaurants offer caviar and the best French wines. The harbor is lined with freighters busily unloading. Trade via the Dominican Republic on the border flourishes. The rich have everything they want, but the factories in the industrial park at the airport are closed for the most part, with 100,000 jobs "suspended" temporarily. And in some of the poorer areas of the barren Northwest Peninsula people depend on AID (Agency for International Development) workers for food. The very Haitians the State Department most wants to help are the ones it is hurting the most. □

BRIEFS

(Continued from page 56)

Many arguments in this book will be familiar to conservatives—a testament to the power of Sowell's ideas, in particular—but Conti and Stetson provide an admirable summation and instructive commentary. What's missing is an assessment of how this "New Vanguard" can move from its current rear-guard position to a leading role in the black community. —RICH LOWRY

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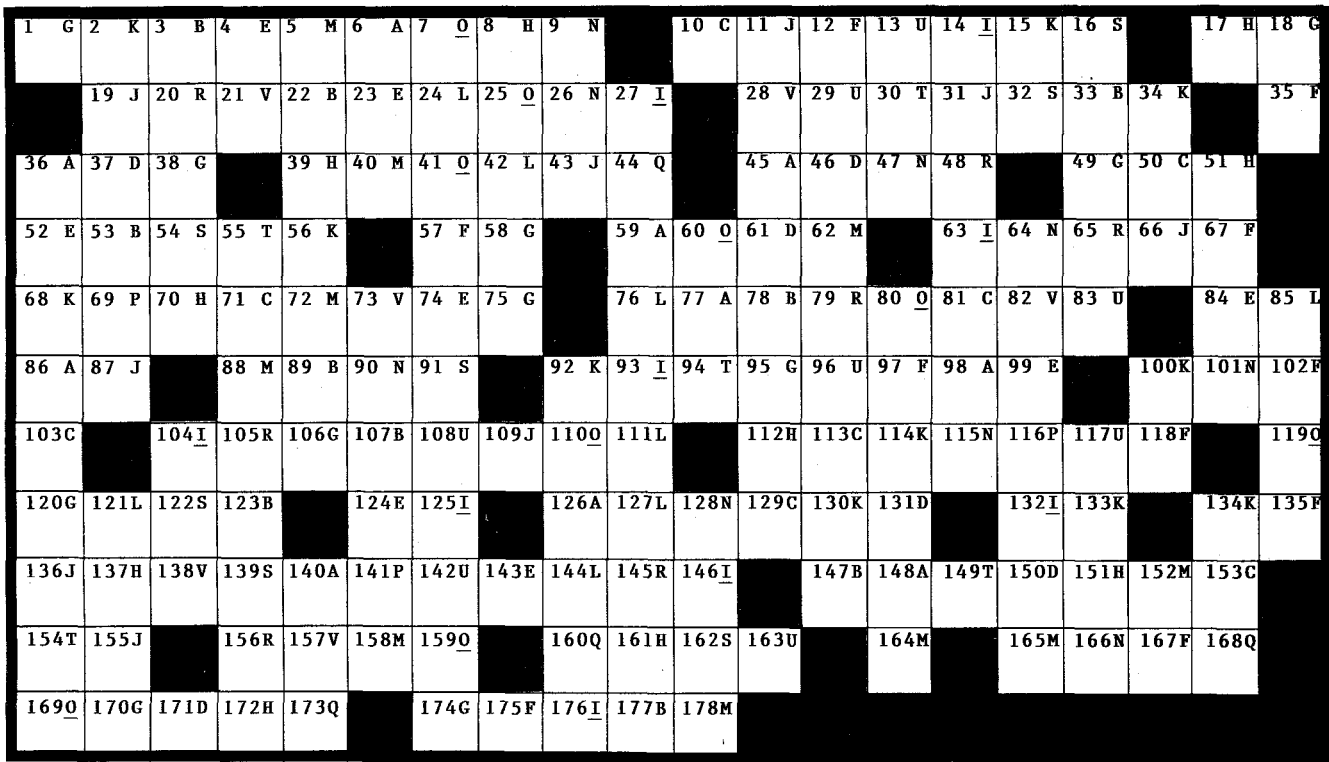
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DEFINITIONS

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|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
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| B. Climaxed | 107 89 177 78 53 33 147 22 3 123 | M. Inured | 165 164 88 5 62 152 158 72 40 178 |
| C. Not flattering | 71 153 81 103 129 10 50 113 | N. One kind of task | 9 101 166 115 128 26 64 90 47 |
| D. Classical-sounding month | 37 171 131 46 61 150 | O. Child's paycheck | 60 159 25 41 119 80 110 169 7 |
| E. Masseur's works | 52 23 124 99 74 84 143 4 | P. Illuminated | 69 141 116 |
| F. Changeover | 35 167 102 118 67 57 97 12 175 135 | Q. Partner of lascivious | 173 44 160 168 |
| G. James River port city (2 words) | 58 95 49 1 120 170 38 75 106 174 | R. College on Long Island | 65 156 145 105 79 48 20 |
| H. Needs | 70 137 17 39 151 8 112 161 172 51 | S. Ease | 122 32 54 91 162 139 16 |
| I. Very recent past | 63 125 93 14 104 176 146 132 27 | T. Egad! Gadzooks! | 30 149 154 55 94 |
| J. Spinning | 66 136 31 155 11 19 109 87 43 | U. One kind of exposure | 83 117 96 108 163 142 29 13 |
| K. Brown v. Board goal | 114 130 100 68 34 2 92 56 134 15 | V. Ronald Reagan on the gridiron | 82 73 138 28 157 21 |

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. PETER SLEVIN: *The Infidel*: "Havana . . . is a one-party state trying to keep control by censoring information and by cracking down on dissidents, by refusing to contest an election and by rejecting the introduction of profit-and-loss economies."

For Vol. II of the puzzle collection, send \$5.95 (plus \$1 S&H) to: T-Gram Plus, 3279 Lake Powell, Williamsburg, Virginia 23185.

Gergen To The Rescue

NEW YORK, JUNE 2

David Gergen's anointing by President Clinton as tamer of Republican opposition is a shrewd move. On the other hand, the temptation these last few weeks has been to conclude that anything Mr. Clinton does that suggests a departure from what he has been doing is a shrewd move, *eo ipso*, and this probably would include letting his hair grow for a few weeks. But quite apart from the appointment of Gergen signifying a departure from not appointing Gergen, the maneuver is interesting.

For instance, there was the apparent instant need to pacify Left partisans, who believe in multiculturalism for everybody except conservatives. Mr. Gergen presented himself to the press with revisionist bravura. Said he: "I'm not a Republican." If Richard Nixon had said that, people would smile and say, There goes Tricky Dick. Mr. Gergen went on: "I've always been a registered independent. I grew up in North Carolina as a Democrat, and I didn't even know any Republicans until I was 21." That is a remarkable confession, because by the time David Gergen was 21, he had graduated from Yale. I had done the same thing a dozen years earlier, and I knew at least three Republicans, so that one begins wondering about the insularity of this North Carolina Democrat who went right through college without running into any Republicans.

But of course he would soon make up for this, because after finishing Harvard Law School and serving in the Navy, he found himself involved with the Republican National Convention in 1972, and his long career was launched as an advisor to three Republican Presidents, which included a stint as Director of Communications for Ronald Reagan. After leaving the White House he served as an editor of *U.S. News & World Report* and as the conservative complement to Mark Shields on the *MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour*. In this position, by the way,

he has never been absolutely full-throated as a conservative enthusiast, satisfying himself primarily to enter qualifications when criticisms are directed at Republican positions or policies. Still, when interviewed on television the day after his appointment, he dissociated himself emphatically from Reagan/Bush only on the matter of abortions: David Gergen is pro-choice, which will not make him very conspicuous in the White House, which under Clinton serves the nation as a kind of national abortion advisory clinic.

So what, we are entitled to speculate, is David Gergen supposed to do for Bill Clinton? There are two broad possibilities here. The first is that he will dilute Mr. Clinton's voracious appetite for Left causes. If Gergen succeeds in pacifying Clinton when he roams about at night searching through the ranks of the Rainbow Coalition looking for another head of the National Endowment for the Humanities, or Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, or Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, then Gergen will be acclaimed as the man who counseled Clinton not to be Clinton, thereby salvaging the Clinton Presidency and, not inconceivably, the United States, and maybe even Yugoslavia, South Africa, North Korea, and NAFTA.

There is however another possibility which is rather spooky, and that is that Clinton has engaged Gergen for the purpose of letting Clinton be Clinton—and getting away with it. Mr. Clinton has self-evidently recognized that he and his current advisors are not convincing the American people that their Catherine Wheel of statist enterprises is exactly

right. The question before the house then is, If David Gergen is so smooth as to have concealed that he was never a Republican from Messrs. Nixon, Reagan, Bush, MacNeil, and Lehrer, mightn't he be smooth enough to conceal from the American people that, for instance, the Clinton budget is just one more venture in increasing the size of government? Granted, we are not justified in ascribing magical powers to David Gergen, but we must suppose that this is the mission Clinton primarily desires him to undertake: to find the political key for permitting Clinton to be Clinton.

How might Gergen go about this? Why, this is quite rudimentary. By dividing the opposition. It requires every Republican on the block, and every fourth Democrat on the block, effectively to give us back gridlock, for which the nation is developing an acute nostalgia. Mr. Gergen knows everybody, and he can coo his mellifluous anodynes into the ears of the Republican doubter, and coax him to get out of the way of the gentle tread of his mad-statist boss. In the Reagan White House Mr. Gergen was always in close communion with the *Washington Post* and with the power establishment of the Beltway. More of the same is expected of him by President Clinton, is what the wise men are thinking right now. □

Fiasco

NEW YORK, MAY 28

The vote on Thursday, explained Congressman Bill Richardson, a Democrat from New Mexico, is the most important "vote in the decade." It was certainly treated as such. What would have happened to the deficit if it hadn't passed? The fine print advises us that the Congressional Budget Office acknowledged that if President Bush's budget accord of 1990 had simply been left alone, over the next five years the deficit would have been cut by \$496 billion. By how much did the most important bill of the decade propose to cut the deficit? By \$500 billion. Well, a couple of billion dollars here, a couple of billion there, and pretty soon you have real money. Ah but not so fast. Mr. Steven Greenhouse of the *New York Times* advises us that "if inflation is factored in, Mr. Clinton's deficit-reduction package ends up being slightly smaller" than Mr. Bush's.

It was a real narrow vote, wasn't it? If three congressmen who voted for it had voted against it, it would have gone down. A mere three votes. How did Mr.



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Clinton do it? Mr. Michael Wines, also of the *Times*, lets us in on it.

"Charlie Rose, a North Carolina Democrat and master of the log-rolling business, was candid about how the vote-getting process worked. Mr. Rose laconically told reporters that he took two dozen Southern Democrats to the White House last month to ask that the Administration look favorably on their requests to restrict imports of low-priced peanuts and force cigarette makers to buy high-priced American tobacco. Mr. Rose said that Mr. Clinton's chief lobbyist, Howard Paster, promised to do his best, and that the promise carried at least three or four Democrats into the 'aye' column."

But what about the bill itself? It is a big deal in only one important respect. Nancy Johnson, a Republican from Connecticut, was careful not to use the R word, but she made her point by saying: "This bill takes more money than has ever been taken at any one time from the sector that creates jobs." Robert Michel also avoided the R word, using the term "middle class," as in, "President Clinton now wants to thrust upon middle-income Americans an enormous tax increase."

Well now, that isn't exactly correct. Surely by the time your income reaches \$115,000, you have edged into the class higher than the middle class? Given that the median income in America is under \$30,000? No, what we have in the present bill is primarily a soak-the-rich bill. The rise in income taxes most certainly will not bring in the \$115 billion it is supposed to (because rich people do things differently when taxes are raised); nonetheless, it is by many lengths the largest item in the whole package. The spending cuts in Medicare and Medicaid will be swallowed up in the comprehensive health package coming up, and the \$45-billion "spending cut" achieved by reducing the rate of federal pay increases for military and civilian employees isn't of course a "cut." If you decide, on second thought, not to buy a new Plymouth tomorrow, you haven't "cut" your expenses, you have decided not to raise them.

The anti-rich measure yields only populist satisfaction, not much money. A number of congressmen ventured to specify how many jobs will be lost by corporations that now become marginal, or by investments that will now not be made. But of course if we knew how to calibrate human responses that finely, we could assemble all economic data on a big data bank and calculate exactly how many peanuts Americans will buy at the new protected price. Adam Smith

remarked in his masterwork not only that human beings cannot predict individual variations in economic conduct, but that anybody who thought such predictions possible should be disqualified from public service on the grounds of incompetence.

We can't say how much damage the increased tax will do, but we can say two things. The first is that revenues from the high-income bracket (over \$200,000) will in 1996 be less than they now are, and that enterprises that might have been launched, will be stillborn. That's a hell of a price to pay for the privilege of high-priced peanuts. □

Chins Up! Be Personly!

NEW YORK, MAY 26

Perhaps it is a Freudian effort to block out the news from Bosnia, Cambodia, and Haiti, but one does occasionally focus on the little oppressions. It may seem trivial in a genocidal season to bring it up, but there are some of us who are going nuts with the feminist assault on the language. To the question, "Do you prefer to retain the beauty of the language, or do you want to go the last inning on women's rights?" one is tempted to use Jack Benny's reply: "I'm thinking."

There is no reason the integrity of the language and women's rights should be mutually exclusive, and there is no reason to doubt that the majority of women who have ears themselves deeply resent what is going on in their name. But as is so often the case, the most strident get the bullhorns, and people who like to think of themselves as sensitive to human-rights causes are the first to yield.

When two years ago I first happened upon a directive from the editors of the *Yale Daily News* to the effect—as I advised in this space a fortnight ago—that henceforward first-year students would be referred to as "freshpersons" I concluded that some pubescent fanatic had got hold of the editor's chair, but that he was bound to grow up in a month or two. But over the weekend I would discover, reading the Commencement issue, that freshpersons is now standard usage in the paper, though I caught one lapse into "freshpeople." One would be tempted to say that boys will be boys, but that is of course excluded under the current protocols, leaving us with what? Young persons will be young persons? The flavor of that will get you a diet popsicle.

The day before, at a forum on race relations, attention focused on the master of ceremonies. Charles Ogletree is a distinguished black professor of law at Harvard, whose skills as a moderator put him in great demand on the circuit to protect the audience from discursive speakers. So he is introducing one of the participants, William Gray, President of the United Negro College Fund and, until recently, a senior member of Congress. Professor Ogletree introduces him as a "prominent spokesperson for the Afro-American community." But you look at Mr. Gray, and listen to Mr. Gray. He is a perfectly normal, virile middle-aged male. Why suddenly does he have to be a "spokesperson"? It has got to be because Professor Ogletree fears that to introduce him as a "spokesman" would offend . . . Would offend whom? Mr. Gray didn't come in in drag, so what would he be trying to conceal?

The tyranny offends at all levels. The *Wall Street Journal* recently attracted attention to the proposed new English version of the catechism. Luke 17:33 has for a few hundred years read, "He who seeks to save his life will lose it, but he who loses his life will save it." To replace that lustrous sentence the new barbarians have come up with, "Those who try to make their life secure will lose it, but those who lose their life will keep it." That whole thing, for the sole purpose of burying the word "his."

Or we go to Genesis 9:6: "Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed; for God made man in His own image." Brace yourself. That now reads, "Whoever sheds the blood of a human, by a human shall that person's blood be shed; for in his own image, God made humankind." It must have required a summit meeting of church leaders to consent to use the word "His" before image, which would suggest that it's still okay to refer to God as "Him."

And there is the "him or her" business, which is increasingly hard to avoid. "The new law authorizes the DEA to confiscate his car." Oh no. "Confiscate his or her car." Either you do that, or you say, "The new law authorizes the DEA to confiscate the car of drug offenders." Distinguished stylists are going the his/her route, though it convulses the brain why people should take offense at the inclusive "his," or "man." "Man was born free, but everywhere he is in chains." You can say that again. These are the chains of Lilliputian amazons of verbal correctness, who have besieged, and threaten to corrupt, the English language, one of the great glories of personkind. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

The Resentment of Genius

IF YOU are very lucky, life every now and then presents an Answer, a moment of illumination when the veil is lifted and everything—all one's troubles and disappointments—are explained. For me it happened when I least expected it—just this morning as I was reading the *Washington Post* magazine.

There's a long article about a local girl of 17, Elizabeth Mann, who is a genius. "She is more than smart, in fact. She is brilliant. She scored 1570 (out of 1600) on her SATs, 800 (out of 800) on her Achievement test in math and 800 on her Achievement test in physics. She is a National Merit finalist and a presidential scholar semifinalist, and she was accepted into every college she applied to, finally settling on Harvard." But, adds the reporter, "it's a heavier burden than you think." She was recently at work, for instance, on a physics project exploring "Particle Displacement Velocimetry," but is so advanced that "she couldn't even find somebody to talk to about the wavelet transform." If she dares to use such terms, other kids think she's putting on airs.

Misunderstood, mocked by classmates, resented even by teachers, held back for being too precocious, geniuses lead lives fraught with special challenges, says the reporter. All too often, they are made to feel like misfits, their brilliance mistaken for a troublesome, uppity temperament.

Reading this, a mix of long-pent-up emotions overwhelmed me—the euphoria of self-discovery, the joy of knowing one is not alone, bitter memories of childhood slights, thoughts of promise squandered. I struggled with these awhile, wondering what might have been, but arrived finally at a deep, serene feeling of forgiveness toward parents, teachers, schoolmates, and society in general. All the while,

they thought I was putting on airs. But how—viewing it all for a moment down at their level—could they have known better?

Like Elizabeth—to begin with the most obvious parallel—I was always being singled out by teachers for special attention. A modern educator, so much better trained than the backward types of my youth, would have detected in my "difficulty" grasping square roots, base-6, and whatnot, an inner rebellion against the confining norms imposed upon me. Surveying my blank notebook or half-completed test paper, he would have heard a muffled cry of dissatisfaction with the crudeness of the questions themselves, a yearning for greater challenges. Certainly no teacher today would order her brightest light to sit in the hallway outside the classroom door—"where you can better concentrate."

"I think she continually underestimates the depth of resentment there is" around her, says one of Elizabeth's fellow students. Yes, thinking back, I see the same pattern. The suspensions, the slaps, the deficiency slips, the threats of repeating a grade, my own homeroom teacher "trading" me away to another—it all fits together now. These were signs of a deep resentment, only I could not then have even fathomed such base motives.

A resentment borne equally by siblings, as on the morning of the SATs when my sister relented after just four

attempts to wake me up, so that I arrived panting at the school to find the doors chained shut and a sign, "Quiet, Please! Closed for SAT Exams." School chums, as I walked away recalculating my life plan, could be seen through a window above pointing and laughing. Such, alas, is too often the lot of a genius in our society, always held in check by the chains of mediocrity.

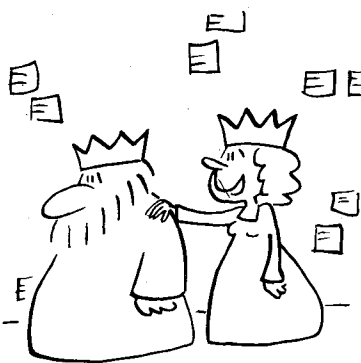
The amused, resentful manner of the teacher who handed me my ACT exam threw me off a little, so I didn't do quite as well that day as Elizabeth. But, not to belittle Elizabeth's achievements, I was accepted into every college and junior college I applied to, leaning at first toward the DeVry Institute of Technology ("DIT," as it says on the matchbook) but settling finally on Arizona State, which seemed a big enough place for a restless mind. A place, so I imagined, where one might even find a gifted gal with whom to discuss wavelet transform (a subject, I'm afraid, too complicated to explain here). Let others strut off to Harvard and Yale, I resolved. Genius disdains the beaten path.

YET EVEN at Arizona State, similar persecutions awaited me. All the familiar barriers were thrown in my way—rigid class schedules, fact-based exams, grades. Oh, sure, the temptation to conform was great. That would have been the easy way, all right, maybe even the way to graduation. But geniuses do not seek lives of ease. One just hopes Elizabeth holds up as well at Harvard.

Other strokes of genius—going to work at the statehouse in Arizona's historic Mecham Era, and later at the White House in the climactic year of the Bush Administration—are too numerous to recount, and besides it would be unfair to compare my public record with that of Elizabeth, who has not had time yet to leave her mark.

Yes, a little introspection sure pays off. I now see that what others might view as failures are the result of a tragic mix-up. Clearly it's time to contact Mensa and have the papers sent to me—assuming there's no other organization for the more developed—as soon as I've worked out that displacement velocimetry formula for Elizabeth. A little boost for the kid, just so she knows there are others out there who labor under the same burden.

—MATTHEW SCULLY



"You did your best, dear—nobody can behead everybody."

Mr. Scully is a former NR associate literary editor and former speechwriter for Vice President Quayle.

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